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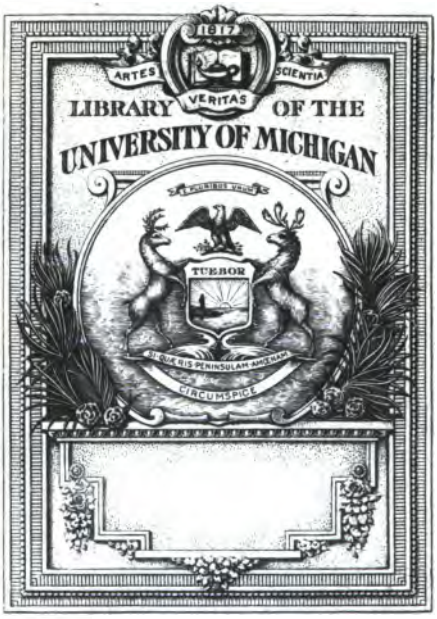

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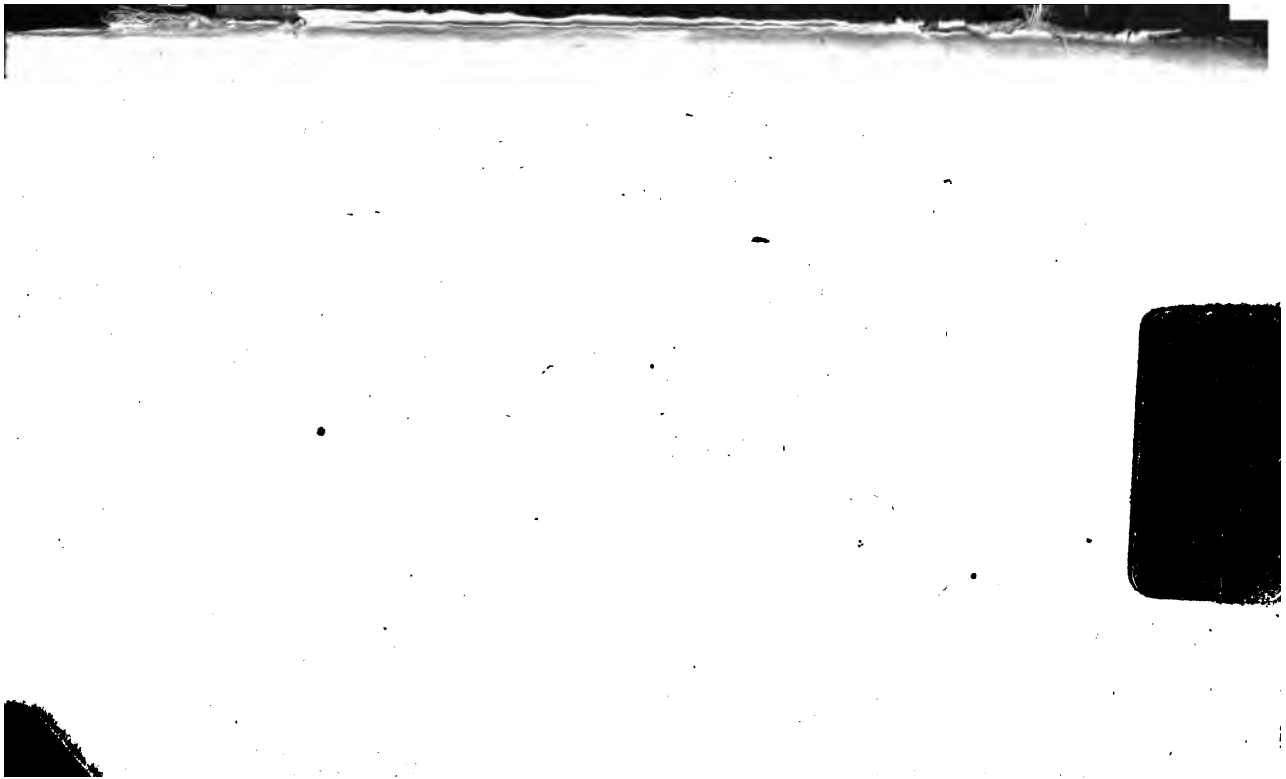

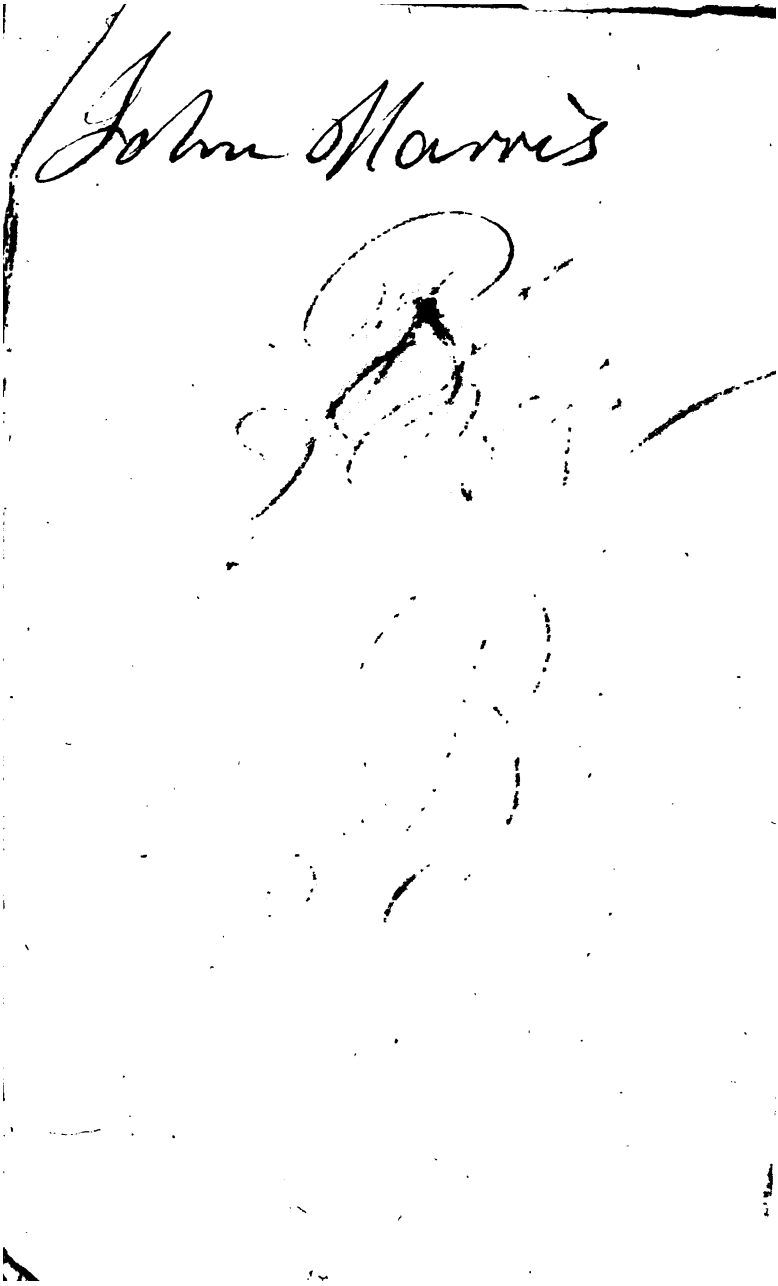

Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, 1627–1704

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Beginning of the World,

TO THE

EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

BY M. BOSSUET,

Late Bishop of Meaux, formerly Preceptor to the Dauphin.

TRANSLATED FROM

THE THIRTEENTH EDITION OF THE ORIGINAL,

BY MR. EPHILSTONE.

NEW-YORK:

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THE Publisher deems it presumptuous to offer any remarks on the merits of this valuable publication. The learning and eloquence of Bishop BOSSUET is so universally known and acknowledged by all acquainted with ancient literature, that remarks or recommendations are deemed useless, and as respects little or narrow minds, might prove injurious: aware of the dangers attending a partial recommendation, as likewise the difficulty of procuring a recommendation which would embrace the leaders of all sects and parties, the Publisher exercises, in this, as in all the works he has hitherto published, the best of his own judgment, and solicits the patronage of all who approve his choice.

12-6-35 M.E.M.

PREFACE.

OUR author having, in his introduction, so beautifully set forth the extensive usefulness of history in general, and of a chronological abridgment in particular; and consequently explained the design of the following work; it were equally presumptuous and unnecessary to say any thing here on those subjects.

No less were it impertinent to offer any new intelligence to the learned world about a performance which hath been so long its admiration; or to recommend to it an author, whose name passes all encomium. It is well known, that, whereas all other *universal* historians give rather a collection of *particular* histories, M. BOSSUET alone hath the glory of producing a true *general* history; which, like a general map, according to his own excellent comparison, is only *one*, great, consistent plan, collecting and arranging, with the justest

symmetry and succession, from the beginning of time, every thing material in every nation; and exhibiting, in one view, that important scene, which alone can convey a clear idea of the universal situation, connexion, and order of things.

We shall not, however, insist upon the extent and importance of the subject, or the dexterity and extent of the Genius, that could handle it in so complete and concise a manner; that could so admirably combine sacred and profane things, the instruction of the head and the heart. But is it not matter of just surprise, that notwithstanding the deserved reputation of this master-piece hath brought it no less than thirteen different times to the press in its own and other countries, neither the excellence of the work, nor the fame of the writer, should have hitherto excited our countrymen to promote the naturalization of so celebrated and valuble a foreigner? There was indeed an attempt made, above threescore years ago, to introduce this performance *faithfully Englished;* or ra-

ther so disadvantageously metamorphosed, that the original could no longer be known: which may serve to account for its so different reception in that disguise, from what it hath ever met with in its native dress. Not only was the most elegant diction transformed into the most barbarous jargon, but the clearest, the finest sense mistaken, nay, made nonsense, in almost every page, or rather every paragraph. No wonder then if an English eye or ear turned away, with abhorrence, from what appeared so shocking; and if it well judged useless, what it found unintelligible.

In order therefore to vindicate the injured author from the false impressions that may have thus naturally been received of him; in order to make him as well known, and consequently as much esteemed, in our country, as he is wherever else taste and learning reign; in order to present to the public, what it hath so long wanted, a complete compendium of universal history, has this translation been undertaken.

order as well as accuracy, his conciseness as well as perspicuity. We hope, at least, to omit few memorable facts that belong to our period, and to situate each event in its proper point of time. But there must not be expected, in the second part, the same sublimity of thought and expression, the same happy turns and imperceptible transitions, the same lively and ingenious strokes, as in the first: for, besides that the nature of our subject and plan does not admit it, who can pretend to be a Bossuet.

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

TO THE DAUPHIN.

THOUGH History were of no use to other men, it should be made the study of princes. There is no better means of discovering to them the power of passions and interests, the importance of times and conjunctures, and the consequences of good and evil counsels. Histories are composed only of such actions as they are engaged in, and every thing in them seems calculated for their use. If experience is necessary towards their acquiring that prudence which teaches to reign well, there is nothing more useful for their instruction, than to join their own daily experience in the examples of past ages. Whereas they usually learn only at the hazard of their subjects, and of their own glory, to judge of the critical affairs that come before them; by the aid of history they form their judgment upon past events, without risking any thing. When they see even the most secret faults of princes, exposed to the view of all men, notwithstanding the false praises bestowed on them in their lifetime, they are ashamed of the vain delight which flattery occasions them, and convinced that true glory can only consist with merit.

The general design of this work.

Besides, it were shameful, not to say for a prince, but in general for any gentleman, to be unacquainted with mankind, and the memorable revolutions which the course of time has produced in the world. If

we do not learn rom history to distinguish times, we shall represent men under the law of nature, or under the written law, such as they are under the evangelical; we shall confound the Persians conquered under Alexander, with the Persians victorious under Cyrus; we shall make Greece as free in the days of Philip, as in those of Themistocles, or Miltiades; the Roman people as high-spirited under the emperors, as under the consuls; the church as quiet under Diocletian, as under Constantine; and France, torn with civil wars in the time of Charles IX. and Henry III. as powerful as in the time of Lewis XIV. when united under so great a monarch, she alone triumphs over all Europe.

It was, Sir, to avoid these inconveniences, that you have read so many ancient as well as modern histories. It was expedient, before all things, to make you read in scripture, the history of the people of God, which is the foundation of religion. You have not been left ignorant of the Grecian, nor of the Roman history; and what was to you of still greater importance, you have been carefully instructed in the history of that kingdom, which you are bound one day to render happy. But lest these histories, and those you have yet to learn, should confuse one another in your mind, there is nothing more necessary than to set before you in a distinct, but concise manner, the series of all ages.

This sort of universal history, is to the histories of each country and people, what a general map is to particular ones. In particular maps you see the whole detail of a kingdom, or province in itself; in general maps you learn to situate those parts of the world in their whole; you see what Paris, or the isle of France is in the kingdom, what the kingdom is in Europe, and what Europe is in the World.

Just so particular histories represent the series of events, that have happened to a people with all their respective circumstances in turn; but in order to understand the whole, we must know the relation each

history bears to others: which is only to be effected by an abridgment, wherein we see, as it were with one glance, the whole order of time.

Such an abridgment, Sir, exhibits a noble spectacle to your view. You see all preceding ages unveil themselves, so to speak, in a few hours before you: you see how empires succeed one another, and how religion, in its various states, supports itself from the beginning of the world, down to our days.

It is the progress of these two particulars, I mean that of religion, and that of empires, that you ought to imprint upon your memory; and as religion and political government, are the two hinges, whereon all human things turn, to see whatever concerns those particulars summed up in an epitome, and by this means to discover the whole order and progression of them, is to comprise in thought all that is great among men, and to hold, so to say, the thread of all the affairs of the world.

As then in examining a general map, you leave the country where you are born, and the place that bounds you, to roam over the whole habitable earth which you grasp in thought, with all its seas and countries; so in considering a chronological epitome, you overleap the narrow bounds of your own time, and launch out into all ages.

But in like manner as to help the memory in the knowledge of places, we mark certain principal countries, around which we place others, each at its proper distance; so in the order of ages, we must have certain times distinguished by some great event, to which we may refer all the rest.

This is what is called an Epoch, from a Greek word which signifies to stop, because we stop there, as at a resting place, to consider all that happened before and after, and by this means to avoid anachronisms, or that sort of error which creates a confusion of times.

We must first confine ourselves to a few epochs, such as are in the times of ancient history: those of

Adam, or the creation; Noah, or the deluge; the calling of Abraham, or the beginning of God's covenant with men; Moses, or the written law; the taking of Troy; Solomon, or the finishing of the temple; Romulus, or the building of Rome; Cyrus, or the people of God delivered from the Babylonish captivity; Scipio, or the conquest of Carthage; the birth of Jesus Christ; Constantine, or the peace of the church; Charlemagne, or the establishment of the new empire.

I give you this establishment of the new empire under Charlemagne, as the end of ancient history, because there you shall see the ancient Roman empire totally at an end. It is for this reason I detain you at so considerable a period of universal history. The continuation of it shall be laid before you in a second part, which will bring you down to the age we see adorned by the immortal actions of your royal father, and to which the ardour you show to follow so great a pattern, gives still ground to expect an additional lustre.

Having explained to you in general the design of this work, I have three things to do in order to make its usefulness answer to my expectation.

Design of this first epitome, which is divided into three parts.

I must first run over with you the epochs which I propose to your observation, and by pointing out to you, in few words, the principal events, which ought to be annexed to each of them, accustom your mind to range those events in their proper places, without regard to any thing but the order of time. But as my principal intention is to make you observe in this progression of times, that of religion, and that of great empires; after carrying on together, according to the course of years, the facts which regard those two topics, I shall particularly resume, with necessary reflections, first, those which set forth to us the perpetual duration of religion; and, lastly, those which discover to us the causes of the great revolutions that have befallen empires.

Then, whatever part of ancient history you read, all will turn out to your advantage. No fact shall pass, but you shall perceive its consequences. You will admire the train of God's counsels in the concerns of religion: you will likewise see the concatenation of human affairs, and thereby will be sensible, with how great reflection and foresight they must needs be governed.

PART I.

I. epoch Adam, or the creation. I age of the world.

THE first epoch immediately presents to you a grand and awful spectacle; God creating the heavens and the earth by his word, and making man after his own image. With this begins Moses, the most ancient of historians, most sublime of philosophers, and wisest of legislators.

Years before Jesus Christ 4004. Year of the world I.

Thus he lays the foundation as well of his history, as of his doctrine and laws. Next he shows us all men contained in one man, and his wife herself extracted from him; matrimonial union, and the society of mankind established upon this foundation; the perfection and power of man, so far as he bears the image of God in his first estate; his dominion over animals; his innocence, together with his felicity, in paradise, the memory whereof is preserved in the golden age of the poets; the divine command given to our first parents; the malice of the tempting spirit, and his appearance under the form of a serpent; the fall of Adam and Eve, fatal to all their posterity; the first man justly punished in all his children, and mankind cursed by God; the first promise of redemption, and the future victory of men over the devil who had undone them.

A. C. Genes. v. 3, 4. 3875. The earth begins to be filled, and wickedness increases. Cain, the first son of Adam and Eve, shows the infant world the first tragical action; and from that time virtue dates her persecution from vice. There we see the contrary manners of the two brothers; the innocence of Abel, his pastoral life, and his offerings accepted; those of Cain rejected, his avarice, his impiety, his fratricide, and jealousy the parent of murders; the punishment of that crime, the conscience of the parricide racked with continual terrors; the first city built by this miscreant, now a vagabond upon the face of the earth, seeking an asylum from the hatred and horror of mankind; the invention of some arts by his children; the tyranny of passions, and the prodigious malignity of man's heart, ever prone to evil; the posterity of Seth, faithful to God, notwithstanding that 3017. depravation; the pious Enoch, miraculously snatched out of the world, which was not worthy of him; the distinction of the children of God from the children of men; that is, of those who lived after the spirit, from those who lived after the flesh; their intermixture, and the universal corruption of the world: the destruction of men decreed by a just judgment of God; his wrath denounced against sinners by his servant Noah; their impenitence and hardness of heart 2468. punished at last by the deluge; Noah and his family 2348. reserved for the restoration of mankind. A. M. 125. 987. 1536. 1656.

This is the sum of what passed in 1656 years. Such is the beginning of all histories, wherein are displayed the omnipotence, wisdom, and goodness of God; innocence happy under his protection; his justice in avenging crimes, and at the same time his long suffering patience in waiting the conversion of sinners; the greatness and dignity of man in his primitive state; the temper of mankind after their corruption, the nature of jealousy, and the secret causes of violences and of wars, that is, all the foundations of religion and morality.

With mankind Noah preserved the arts, as well

A. C. those which were essential to human life, and which men A. M
* Gen. ii. 15. iii. 17, 18, 19. iv. 2. knew from their original, as those they had afterwards invented. Those first arts which men learned immediately, and probably from their creator, were * agriculture, the pastoral † art, that of ‡ clothing themselves, and, perhaps, that of building houses of their accommodation. And indeed, do we not trace the commencement for these arts from those places of the east from whence mankind was propagated?

† Ib. iv. 2.
‡ Ib. iii. 21.
§ Berof Chald. Hist Oh Hieron Egypt Phœn. Hist. Manas Nic: Damasc i xcvi Abyd de Med & Assyr. Ap Jos Antiq. l. i c. 3. 4. & l. i. cont Apion & Eus. l. ix. Præp Ev. c. 11, 12. Plut Opusc. Plusne Solert. terr. an aquat. Lucian de Dea Syr.

§ The tradition of the universal deluge prevails over all the earth. The ark, wherein the remnant of mankind was saved, has ever been celebrated in the east, particularly in those places where it rested after the deluge. Many other circumstances of that famous story are to be found marked in the annals and traditions of ancient nations; the times agree, and every thing answers as far as could be expected in so remote a piece of antiquity.

II Epoch. Noah or the deluge second age of the world 1656. 1657. 1757.

Near the deluge are to be ranged the decrease of man's life, the alteration of diet, and a new food substituted in place of the fruits of the earth; some oral precepts delivered to Noah; the confusion of languages at the tower of Babel, which was the first monument of the pride and weakness of men; the portion of the three sons of Noah, and the first distribution of lands.

2348. 2347. 2247.

The memory of those three first fathers of nations has still been preserved among men. Japetus, who peopled the greatest part of the western world, has continued famous there under the celebrated name of Japheth. Ham, and his son Canaan, have been no less noted among the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and the memory of Shem has ever lasted with the Hebrew people, who are descended from him.

A little after this first division of mankind, Nimrod, a man of a fierce and violent disposition, becomes the first conqueror; and such is the origin of conquests. He set up the throne of his kingdom at Babylon, in the same place where the tower had been begun, and

Gen. x 8, 10, 21.

A. C. already raised to a great height, but not so high as A. M. man's vanity wished it. About the same time Nineveh was built, and some ancient kingdoms established. They were but petty in those early times, for in Egypt alone we find four Dynasties or Principalities, those of Thebes, Thin, Memphis, and Tanis; this last was the capital of the lower Egypt. To this time we may also refer the commencement of the laws and polity of the Egyptians, that of their pyramids which stand to this day, and that of the astronomical observations, as well of that people as of the Chaldeans. So we may trace 1771. 233. up to this time, and no higher, the observations which or- the Chaldeans, who were, without dispute, the first byr- observers of the stars, gave in Babylon to Calisthenes p. for Aristotle.
Imp. ib fi. le Every thing begins: there is no ancient history Cælo. wherein there do not appear, not only in those early ages, but long after, manifest vestiges of the newness of the world. We see laws establishing, manners polishing, and empires forming. Mankind by degrees get out of their ignorance, experience instructs them, and arts are invented or perfected. According as men multiply, the earth is closer and closer peopled; they pass mountains and precipices; they cross rivers, and at length seas, and establish new habitations. The earth, which at the beginning was but an immense forest, takes now another form, the woods cut down make room for fields, for pastures, for hamlets, for towns, and at length for cities. Men learn to catch certain animals, to tame others, and to inure them to service. They were obliged at first to encounter wild beasts. The first heroes signalised themselves in those wars. These occasioned the invention of arms, which men Gen. x turned afterwards against their fellow creatures. Nim- 9. rod, the first warrior, and the first conqueror, is called in scripture, *a mighty hunter*. Together with animals, man acquired also the arts of managing fruits and plants; he bended the very metals to his use, and gradually made all nature subservient to it. As it was

A. C. natural that time should cause many things to be invented, it must also cause others to be forgot, at least by the greater part of mankind. Those first arts, which Noah had preserved, and which we also find always flourishing in the countries where mankind was first established, were lost according as men removed from them. These behoved others either to learn them anew in process of time, or those who had preserved them, must have carried them again to the rest. Therefore do we see every thing come from those lands that were always inhabited, where the principles of the arts remained entire, and even there were daily made many important discoveries. The knowledge of God, and the memory of the creation were preserved there, but began to decay by degrees. The ancient traditions were now falling into oblivion and obscurity; the fables, which succeeded them, retained but gross ideas of them; false deities multiplied; and this gave occasion to the calling of Abraham. A. M.

III Epoch. The calling of Abraham. Third age of the world.

FOUR hundred twenty six years after the deluge, when men walked every one in his own way, and grew forgetful of him that made them, that great God, to stop the progress of so great an evil, in the midst of corruption begun to set apart a chosen people for himself. Abraham was made choice of to be the stock and father of all believers. God called him into the land of Canaan, where he intended to establish his worship, and the children of that patriarch, whom he had resolved to multiply as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the sea. To the promise he made him of giving that land to his offspring, he added somewhat far more glorious, and this was that great blessing which was to be extended to all the nations of the world in Jesus Christ proceeding from his race. It was that Jesus Christ whom Abraham honours in the person of the high-priest Melchisedec who presents him; it is to him he pays the tithe of the spoil he had won from the vanquished kings; and it is by him he is blessed. Though possessed of immense riches,

1921. 2083.

Heb. vii. 1, 2. 3. and foll.

A. C. and of a power which equalled that of kings, Abraham A. M.
preserved the primitive manners; he led always a
plain and pastoral life, which, however, wanted not
its magnificence; and this that patriarch showed par-
1856. ticularly by exercising hospitality to all men. Heaven 2148.
furnished him with guests; angels imparted to him
the counsels of God; he believed, and in every thing
approved himself full of faith and piety. In his time
Inachus, the most ancient of all the kings acknowledged
by the Greeks, founded the kingdom of Argos. Af-
ter Abraham we find Isaac his son, and Jacob his
grandson, imitators of his faith and simplicity in the
same pastoral life. God repeats to them also the same
1759. promises he had made to their father, and conducts 2245.
them, as he had done him, in all things. Isaac bless-
eth Jacob, to the prejudice of Esau his elder brother,
and though deceived in appearance, he in effect exe-
cutes the counsels of God. Jacob, whom God pro-
tected, in every thing excelled Esau. An angel, with
whom he had a mysterious wrestling, gave him the
name of Israel, whence his children are called Israel-
ites. To him were born the twelve patriarchs, fathers
of the twelve tribes of the Hebrew people; among
others Levi, from whom were to proceed the minis-
ters in sacred things; Judah, from whom was to spring,
together with the royal race, the Christ, king of kings,
and lord of lords; and Joseph, whom Jacob loved
above all his other children. There new secrets of
divine providence are disclosed. We see before all
things the innocence and wisdom of young Joseph,
ever an enemy to vice, and careful to reprove it in his
brethren; his mysterious and prophetical dreams; his
brethren jealous, and jealousy a second time the cause
1728. of a parricide; that great man sold; the fidelity he 2276.
1717. observes to his master, and his admirable chastity; 2287.
the persecutions it draws upon him; his imprisonment
and constancy; his predictions; his miraculous deli-
1715. verance; that famous interpretation of Pharaoh's 2289.
dreams; the merit of so great a man acknowledged;

A. C. his exalted genius and upright heart, and the protec- A. M.
1706. tion of God, who gives him rule wherever he is; his 2298.
foresight, wise counsels, and absolute power in the kingdom of the lower Egypt; and this the means of preserving his father Jacob and his family. That family favoured by God is thus settled in that part of Egypt, whereof Tanis was the capital, and whose
1689. kings took all the name of Pharaoh. Jacob dies, and 2315.
a little before his death he makes that celebrated prophecy, where, in discovering to his children the state of their posterity, he points out particularly to Judah the times of the Messiah, who was to spring from his race. The house of that patriarch in a little time becomes a great nation; this prodigious multiplication excites the jealousy of the Egyptians; the Hebrews are unjustly hated, and unmercifully persecuted: God
1571. raises up Moses their deliverer, whom he saves from 2433.
the waters of the Nile, and makes him fall into the hands of Pharaoh's daughter: she brings him up as her own son, and causes him to be instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. In those days the peo-
1556. ple of Egypt settled in divers parts of Greece. The 2448.
colony which Cecrops brought from Egypt built twelve cities, or rather twelve towns, whereof he composed the kingdom of Athens, and there he established
Marm. Arund. seu Æ. ra Att. the gods together with the laws of his country. A little after happened Deucalion's deluge in Thessaly, confounded by the Greeks with the universal flood. Hellen, the son of Deucalion reigned in Phthia, a country of Thessaly, and gave his name to Greece. His people, before called Greeks, took ever after the name of Hellenes, though the Latins have preserved their ancient name. About the same time Cadmus, the son of Agenor, carried a colony of Phœnicians into Greece, and founded the city of Thebes in Bœotia. The gods of Syria and Phœnicia came into Greece with him. In the mean time Moses was growing up.
1531. When forty years old, he despised the riches of the 2473.
court of Egypt, and, touched with the afflictions of his

A. C. brethren the Israelites, he endangered himself for A. M.
their relief. But so far were they from taking the benefit of his zeal and courage, that they exposed him to the rage of Pharaoh, who resolved his ruin. Moses fled out of Egypt into Arabia, to the land of Midian, where his virtue, ever ready to succour the oppressed, found him a secure retreat. This great man losing hopes of delivering his people, or waiting a better opportunity, had spent forty years in feeding the flocks
1491. of Jethro his father-in-law, when he saw the burning 2513.
bush in the desart, and heard the voice of the God of his fathers, who sent him back into Egypt to bring his brethren out of bondage. Then appear the humility, the courage, and the miracles of that divine lawgiver; the hardness of Pharaoh's heart, and the terrible plagues God sends upon him; the passover, and next day the passage of the Red Sea; Pharaoh and the Egyptians buried in the waters, and the total deliverance of the Israelites.

V. Enoch. loses, r the rrie- m law. 1491. HERE begin the times of the written law. It was given to Moses 430 years after the calling of Abraham, 856 years after the deluge, and in the same year that the Hebrew people came out of Egypt. This date is remarkable, being made use of to denominate all the 2513. time from Moses to Jesus Christ. All that time is called the time of the written law, to distinguish it from the preceding, called the time of the law of nature, wherein men had nothing to direct them but natural reason, and the traditions of their ancestors.

God then having set his people free from the tyranny of the Egyptians, in order to conduct them into the land where he will be served, and before he settles them in it, sets forth to them the law by which they are to live. He writes with his own hand upon two tables, which he gives to Moses on the top of mount Sinai, the foundation of that law, that is, the decalogue, or ten commandments, which contain the first principles of the worship of God, and of human society. To the same Moses he dictates the other precepts, by

A. C. Heb. ix. 9, 23. which he appoints the tabernacle, the figure of time to come; the ark, where God manifested himself by his oracles, and wherein the tables of the law were deposited; the promotion of Aaron the brother of Moses; the high-priesthood, or pontificate, a dignity solely appropriated to him and his sons; the ceremonies of their consecration, and the fashion of their mysterious habits; the functions of the priests, sons of Aaron; those of the Levites, with other religious rites; and what is still more excellent, the rules of good manners, the polity and government of his chosen people, to whom he will himself be lawgiver. This is what is signified by the epoch of the written law. Then we see the journey continued in the wilderness; the revolts, idolatries, chastisements, and consolations of the people of God, whom that almighty lawgiver gradu- A. M.
1452. ally forms by this means; the consecration of Elea- 2552.
zar the high-priest, and the death of his father Aaron; the zeal of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, and the priesthood confirmed to his descendants by a particular promise. During these times the Egyptians continue settling their colonies in different parts, particularly in Greece, where Danaus, an Egyptian, makes himself king of Argos, and dispossesses the ancient kings of
1451. Inachus's line. Towards the end of the journeyings 2553.
of the people of God in the wilderness, we see the beginning of the wars which the prayers of Moses render successful. He dies, and leaves the Israelites their whole history, which he had carefully digested from the origin of the world down to the time of his death. That history is continued by the command of Joshua, and his successors. It was afterwards divided into several books, which are handed down to us under the titles of Joshua, Judges, and the four books of Kings. The history which Moses had written, and wherein the whole law was contained, was also parted into five books, called the Pentateuch, which are the foundation of religion. After the death of the man of God,
1445. we find the wars of Joshua, the conquest and division 2559.

A. C. of the holy land, and the rebellions of the people, who A. M.
are at various times chastised and re-established. Here
1405. are to be seen the victories of Othniel, who delivers 2599.
them from the tyranny of Chushan, king of Mesopo-
tamia, and fourscore years after, that of Ehud over
1325. Eglon, king of Moab. About this time Phrygian Pe- 2679.
1322. lops, son of Tantalus, reigns in the Peloponnese, and 2682.
gives his name to that famous country. Belus, king of
the Chaldeans, receives divine honours from that peo-
1305. ple. The ungrateful Israelites fall again into servi- 2699.
tude. Jabin, king of Canaan, subjects them; but
1285. Deborah the prophetess, who judged the people, and 2719.
Barak, the son of Abinoam, defeat Sisera the general
1245. of that king's armies. Thirty years after, Gideon, vic- 2759.
torious without fighting, pursues and overthrows the
1236. Midianites. Abimelech his son usurps the sovereign 2768.
power by murdering his brothers, exercises it tyranni-
1187. cally, and loses it at last with his life. Jephthah stains 2817.
his victory by a sacrifice, which cannot be excused but
by a secret command from God, of which he has not
been pleased to communicate any thing to us. Dur-
ing this age there happened some very considerable
events among the Gentiles; for if we follow the com-
Herod. putation of Herodote, which seems the most exact,
l. 1. c. 26. we must place in these times, 514 years before Rome,
1267. and in the time of Deborah, Ninus the son of Belus, 2737.
and the foundation of the first empire of the Assyrians.
The seat of it was established at Nineveh, an ancient Gen. x.
and already famous city, but beautified and adorned 11.
by Ninus. Those who give 1300 years to the first
Assyrians, go upon the antiquity of the city; and He-
rodote, who allows them but 500, speaks only of the
duration of the empire, which they begun under Ni-
nus, son of Belus, to extend into upper Asia. A little Josh. xix. 28.
after, and during that conqueror's reign, ought to be 2752. Jo-
placed the foundation, or rebuilding of the ancient city seph.
1252. of Tyre, so celebrated for its navigation and colonies. Antiq. 8, 2.
Some time after Abimelech, we find the famous com-
bats of Hercules, son of Amphitryo, and those of The-

A. C. seus, king of Athens, who made but one city of the A. M.
twelve boroughs of Cecrops, and gave a better form of
government to the Athenians. In the days of Jeph-
thah, while Semiramis, widow of Ninus, and guardian
of Ninyas, enlarged the empire of the Assyrians by
her conquests, the celebrated city of Troy, already
taken once by the Greeks, under Laomedon, its third
1184. king, was again reduced to ashes by the Greeks, in 2820.
the reign of Priam, son of Laomedon after the siege
of ten years.

V. Epoch. The taking of Troy. fourth age of the world. THIS Epoch of the destruction of Troy, which hap-
pened about the 308th year after the departure out of
Egypt, and 1184 years after the deluge, is considerable,
as well by reason of the importance of so great an
event celebrated by the two greatest poets of Greece 2820.
and Italy; as because to this date may be referred
1184. whatever is most remarkable in the times called fabu-
lous, or heroic; fabulous, on account of the fables,
wherein the histories of those times are enwrapped;
heroic, on account of those whom the poets have
stiled sons of the gods, and heroes. They lived not
far from this period: for in the days of Laomedon,
Priam's father, appear all the heroes of the Golden
Fleece; Jason, Hercules, Orpheus, Castor and Pollux,
and the rest, whom you very well know; and in the
time of Priam himself, during the last siege of Troy,
we see Achilles, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses,
Hector, Sarpedon, son of Jupiter, Eneas son of Venus,
whom the Romans acknowledge for their founder;
and so many others, from whom illustrious families
and whole nations have gloried to descend. This
Epoch is, therefore, proper to collect all that is most
certain or beautiful in the fabulous times. But what
we find in sacred history is every way more remarka-
1177. ble: the prodigious strength of Sampson, and his 2837.
1176. amazing weakness; Eli the high priest, venerable for
his piety, and unfortunate in the wickedness of his 2888.
1085. children; Samuel, an unblameable judge, and a pro- 2969
phet chosen of God to anoint the kings; Saul, the first

A. C. king of the people of God, his victories, his presumption in sacrificing without priests, his disobedience ill justified by the pretence of religion, his reprobation, his fatal fall. In this period Codrus, king of Athens, laid down his life to save his people, and by his death procured them victory. His sons, Medon and Nileus, dispute the kingdom. On this occasion the Athenians abolished the regal dignity, and declared Jupiter sole king of the people of Athens. They created governors, or perpetual presidents, but liable to give account of their administration. These magistrates were called Archons. Medon, son of Codrus, was the first who exercised this magistracy, and it continued a long time in his family. The Athenians spread their colonies over that part of the lesser Asia which was called Ionia. The Eolian colonies were planted much about
1055. the same time, and all the lesser Asia was filled with
Grecian cities. After Saul, appears a David, that admirable shepherd, the vanquisher of the proud Goliath, and of all the enemies of the people of God; a great king, a great conqueror, a great prophet, wor thy
1035. to sing the wonders of divine omnipotence! a man, in
short, after God's own heart, as he himself terms him,
and who, by his penitence, made his very crime turn
1014. to his creator's glory. To this pious warrior succeed-
ed his son, the wise, the just, the peaceful Solomon,
1012. whose hands, undefiled with blood, were judged worthy
to build the temple of God.

A. M.
2949.
2976.
2990.
2992.

VI. Epoch. Solomon, or the temple finished. Fifth age of the world. 1003. 1004.

About the 3000th year of the world, the 488th from the departure out of Egypt, and to adjust the times of sacred history with those of profane, 180 years after the taking of Troy, 250 before the foundation of Rome, and 1000 years before Jesus Christ, did Solomon finish that stupendous edifice. He solemnized the dedication of it with an extraordinary piety and magnificence. This celebrated action is followed by other wonders of Solomon's reign, which ends with shameful weaknesses. He gives up himself to the love of women; he fails both in head and in heart, and his

3000.

3001.

A. C. piety degenerates into idolatry. God, though justly provoked, yet spares him in remembrance of David his servant; but would not suffer his ingratitude wholly to pass unpunished: He divided his kingdom after his 975. death, and under his son Rehoboam. The brutal haughtiness of this young prince made him lose ten tribes, whom Jeroboam turned aside from their God, and from their king. To prevent their returning to the kings of Judah, he prohibited their going to sacrifice at the temple of Jerusalem, and set up golden calves, to which he gave the name of the God of Israel, that the change might seem the less strange. The same reason made him retain the law of Moses, which he interpreted in his own way; but caused almost all its polity, as well civil as sacred, to be observed; so that the Pentateuch continued always in veneration among the seceding tribes. A. M. 3029. 1 Kin. xii. 32.

Thus was the kingdom of Israel set up against the kingdom of Judah. In that of Israel, impiety and idolatry triumphed. Religion, though often overclouded in that of Judah, still kept some footing there. In those days the kings of Egypt were powerful. The four kingdoms were united under that of Thebes. 969. It is thought Sesostris, that famous Egyptian conqueror, was the Shishak king of Egypt, whom God made the instrument of chastising the impiety of Rehoboam. In the reign of Abijam, son of Rehoboam, we see the famous victory which the piety of that prince obtained over the schismatic tribes. 3035.

917. His son Asa, whose piety is commended in scripture, is there described as a man, who in his sicknesses, relied more upon the aid of medicine, than upon the 924. goodness of God. In his time Omri king of Israel built Samaria, where he erected the throne of his 914. kingdom. This period is succeeded by Jehoshaphat's admirable reign, wherein flourish piety, justice, navigation, and the art of war. Whilst he exhibited another David to the kingdom of Judah, Ahab and his wife Jezebel, who reigned in Israel, to the idolatry of 3087. 3080. 3090.

A. C. Jeroboam added all the impieties of the Gentiles. A. M.
899. They both perished miserably. God, who had bore 3105.
with their idolatries, resolved to avenge on them the
blood of Naboth, whom they had caused to be put to
death, because he had refused, as the law of Moses en-
joined him, to sell them the fee of the inheritance of
his fathers. Their sentence was pronounced to them
by the mouth of the prophet Elijah. Ahab was slain
897. some time after, notwithstanding the precautions he 3107.
892. took for his safety. About this time must be placed 3112.
the foundation of Carthage, which Tyrian Dido built
in a situation, where, after the example of Tyre, she
might trade to advantage, and aspire to the empire of
the sea. It is not easy to fix the time, when it took the
form of a commonwealth; but the mixture of the Ty-
rians and Africans made it a city at once martial and
888. mercantile. The ancient historians, who put its ori- 3116.
gin before the destruction of Troy, would make it con-
jectured, that Dido rather enlarged and fortified it,
than that she laid its foundations. The face of affairs
changed in the kingdom of Judah. Athaliah, the
daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, brought impiety along
with her into the house of Jehoshaphat. Jehoram,
the son of so pious a prince, chose rather to imitate
his father-in-law, than his father. The hand of God
was upon him. His reign was short, and his end dread-
ful. In the midst of these chastisements, God wrought
unheard of wonders, even in behalf of the Israelites,
whom he was willing to call to repentance. They
saw, unconverted, the miracles of Elijah and Elisha,
who prophesied during the reigns of Ahab and
Marm. Arund. five of his successors. In this period Homer flourish-
ed, as did Hesiod thirty years before him. The pri-
mitive manners which they represent to us, and the
vestiges of the ancient simplicity, which they still with
great dignity retain, are of no small use to our under-
standing antiquities much more remote, and the divine
884. simplicity of scripture. Behold now dreadful scenes 3120.
in the kingdoms of Judah and Israel! Jezebel, by Je-

A. C. hu's order, thrown headlong from the top of a tower! A. M.
In vain had she painted her face, and tired her head: Jehu trampled her under his horses feet: he smote Joram king of Israel, the son of Ahab: the whole house of Ahab was extirpated, and had well nigh drawn that of the kings of Judah into its destruction. King Ahaziah, son of Jehoram king of Judah, and of Athaliah, was slain in Samaria with his brethren, as being a kinsman and friend to the children of Ahab. As soon as this news was brought to Jerusalem, Athaliah resolved to despatch all that remained of the seed royal, without sparing her own children, and to reign by the destruction of all her family. Only Jehoash the son of Ahaziah, a child yet in the cradle, was stolen from the fury of his grandmother. Jehosheba sister of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoiada the high-priest, hid him in the house of God, and saved that precious remnant of the house of David. Athaliah, who believed him murdered with the rest, lived without fear. Lycurgus now gave laws to Lacedemon. He is blamed for having calculated them all for war, after the example of Minos, whose institutions he had followed, and for having little provided for the modesty of the women while, in order to make soldiers, he obliged the men to so laborious and temperate a life. Nothing was stirring in Judea against Athalia; she thought herself quite secured by a reign of six years. But God was bringing her up an avenger in the sacred sanctuary of his temple. When he had attained his seventh year, Jehoiada showed him to some of the chief captains of the royal army, whom he had carefully prepared for such a discovery; and with the assistance of the Levites, he crowned the young king in the temple. All the people readily acknowledged him the heir of David and of Jehoshaphat. Athaliah, upon hearing the noise, coming up to quell the conspiracy, was dragged without the ranges of the temple, and received the treatment which her crimes deserved. So long as Jehoiada lived, Jehoash caused the law of Moses be kept.

Plato de Rep. l. viii. de leg. iii. & Arist. Polit. lib. xi c. 2.

178. 178.

A. C. But after the death of that good priest, being corrupted by the flatteries of his courtiers, with them he gives A. M.
840. himself up to idolatry. The priest Zechariah, son of 3164.
Jehoiada, made bold to reprove him; and Jehoash,
unmindful of what he owed to his father, commanded
him to be stoned. Vengeance quickly overtook him.
839. The year following Jehoash, defeated by the Syrians, 3165.
and fallen into contempt, was assassinated by his own
825. servants; and Amaziah his son, a better man than he, 3179.
was placed upon the throne. The kingdom of Israel,
brought low by the victories of the kings of Syria, and
by civil wars, recovered its strength under Jeroboam
II. more pious than his predecessors. Uzziah, other-
wise called Azariah, son of Amaziah, governed the
810. kingdom of Judah with no less glory. This is that fa- 3194.
mous Uzziah, who was smitten with leprosy, and so
many times reproved in scripture, for having, in his
latter days, presumed to invade the priest's office; and
for having, contrary to the prohibition of the law, of-
fered incense on the altar of perfumes. He was obli-
ged to be separated from the people, king as he was,
according to the law of Moses; and Jotham his son,
who was afterwards his successor, governed the king-
dom wisely. Under the reign of Uzziah, the holy
prophets, the chief of whom at that time were Hosea
and Isaiah, began to publish their prophecies in writing,
and in particular books, the originals whereof they de-
posited in the temple, to serve for a monument to pos-
terity. The prophecies of lesser extent, and orally
delivered, were registered, according to custom, in the
archives of the temple, with the history of their respec-
776. tive times. The Olympic games, instituted by Her- 3228.
cules, and long discontinued, were revived. From this
revival are deduced the Olympiads, whereby the Gre-
cians reckoned their years. At this period ended the
times, which Varro calls fabulous, because till this date
profane history is full of confusion and fables; and
the historical times begin, wherein the affairs of the
world are related by more faithful and distinct narra-

A. C. tives. The first Olympiad is distinguished by the victory of Chorebus. They returned every fifth year, and after the revolution of four. There, in an assembly of all Greece at Pisa first, and afterwards at Elis, were celebrated those famous combats, in which the victors were crowned with incredible applauses. Thus exercises were had in honour, and Greece became daily stronger, and more polite. Italy was still almost quite savage. The Latin kings of the posterity of Eneas reigned at Alba. Phul was king of Assyria. He is thought to be father of Sardanapalus, called, according to the eastern custom, Sardan-Pul; that is, Sardan, the son of Pul. Some too are of opinion, that this Phul or Pul, was the king of Nineveh, who repented
771. with all his people at the preaching of Jonah. This prince, attracted by the troubles of the kingdom of Israel, marched to invade it; but being pacified by Menahem, he confirmed him in the throne he had usurped by violence, and received, by way of acknowledgment, a tribute of a thousand talents. In the reign of his son Sardanapalus, and after Alcmeon, the last perpetual Archon of the Athenians, that people, whose humour insensibly led them to a popular government, diminished the power of their magistrates, and reduced the administration of the Archons to ten years. The first of this kind was Charops. Romulus and Remus descended of the ancient kings of Alba by their mother Ilia, restored their grandfather Numitor to the throne of Alba, whom his brother Amulius had dispossessed of it; and immediately after they founded Rome, while Jotham reigned in Judah. A. R. 3233.

VII. Epocha Romulus, or Rome founded. 3250. Years of Rome.

That city, which was one day to be mistress of the world, was founded towards the end of the third year of the sixth Olympiad; about four hundred and thirty
754. years after the taking of Troy, from which the Romans imagined their ancestors sprung; and seven hundred fifty-three years before Jesus Christ. Romulus being brought up hardily, among shepherds, and continually employed in warlike exercises, dedicated that city

A. C. 748. to the God of war, whom he called his father. About A. R. 6. the time of Rome's infancy, happened the fall of the first Assyrian empire, through the softness of Sardanapalus. The Medes, a warlike people, animated by Arbaces their governor, set all the subjects of that effeminate prince an example of despising him. All revolted against him; and he perished at last in his capital city, where he was forced to burn himself alive with his women, his eunuchs, and his riches. From the ruins of that empire we behold three great kingdoms arise. Arbaces, or Orbaces, by some called Pharnaces, gave liberty to the Medes, who after a pretty long anarchy, had some very powerful kings. Be-
747. sides this, immediately after Sardanapalus, we see a se- 7.
cond kingdom of the Assyrians appear, whereof Nineveh continued the capital, and a kingdom of Babylon. These two last kingdoms were not unknown to profane authors, and are celebrated in sacred history. The second kingdom of Nineveh was founded by Tilgath, or Tiglath, son of Pilezer, called, for that reason, Tiglath pileser, to whom some give also the name of Ninus the younger. Baladan, by the Greeks named Belesis, established the kingdom of Babylon, where he is known by the name of Nabonassar. Hence the era of Nabonassar, famous with Ptolemy and the ancient astronomers, who reckoned their years from that prince's reign. It is proper here to take notice, that the word era signifies a number of years begun at a certain period distinguished by some great event. Ahaz, an im-
740. pious and wicked king of Judah, being sore pressed by 14.
Rezin king of Syria, and the Pekha, son of Remaliah, king of Israel, instead of having recourse to God, who raised up those enemies to punish him, sent and invited Tiglath-pileser, the first king of Assyria, or of Nineveh, who reduced the kings of Israel, to the lowest extremity, and totally ruined that of Syria; but at the same time ravaged the kingdom of Judah, which had implored his assistance. Thus the kings of Assyria learned the road to the Holy Land, and resolved the conquest

A. C. of it. They began with the kingdom of Israel, which A. P.
721. Shalmaneser, son and successor of Tiglath-pileser, ut- 33.
terly destroyed. Hoshea, king of Israel had relied on the aid of Sabacon, otherwise named Sua, or So, king of Ethiopia, who had invaded Egypt. But that mighty conqueror was not able to deliver him out of the hand of Shalmaneser. The ten tribes, among whom the worship of God was extinguished, were carried away to Nineveh, and being scattered among the Gentiles, were so lost, that there is no longer any vestige of them to be found. Some few were left behind, who were mixed with the Jews, and made a small part of the king-
715. dom of Judah. At this time happened the death of 39.
Romulus. He was ever at war, and ever victorious: but in the midst of wars he laid the foundations of re-
714. ligion and laws. A long peace afforded Numa his suc- 40.
cessor opportunity of finishing the work. He formed the religion, and civilized the savage manners of the Roman people. In his time colonies from Corinth, and some other cities of Greece, founded Syracuse in Sicily, Crotona, Tarentum, and perhaps some other cities in that part of Italy, to which former Grecian colonies, who had overspread the country, had already given the name of Great Greece. Meanwhile, Hezekiah, the most pious and righteous of all the kings since David,
710. reigned in Judea. Sennacherib, son and successor to 44.
Shalmaneser, besieged him in Jerusalem with an innumerable host, which was cut off in one night by the hand of an angel. Hezekiah, delivered in so wonderful a manner, served God with all his people, more
698. faithfully than ever. But after that prince's death, and 56.
under his son Manasseh, the ungrateful people forgot
687. God, and fell into many disorders. The popular state 67.
was then forming among the Athenians, and they began to elect annual Archons, the first of whom was Creon. Whilst impiety increased in the kingdom of Judah, the power of the kings of Assyria, who were to be its scourges, advanced under Esar-haddon, the son of
681. Sennacherib. He united the kingdom of Babylon with 73.

A. C. that of Nineveh, and equalled in the greater Asia the A. R.
677. 2King. xvii. 24. Ezr. iv. 2. empire of the first Assyrians. Under his reign the Cuthites, a people of Assyria, afterwards called Samaritans, were sent to inhabit Samaria. These joined the worship of God to that of idols, and obtained of Esar-haddon an Israelitish priest, who taught them the service of the God of the country, that is, the ceremonies of the law of Moses. God, not willing that his name should be utterly abolished in a land which he had given to his people, left his law there for a testimony; but their priest gave them only the books of Moses, which the twelve revolted tribes had retained, in their schism. The scriptures composed afterwards by the prophets, who sacrificed in the temple, were had in detestation among them; which is the reason the Samaritans, receive only the Pentateuch to this day.

2King. xvii. 27, 28, &c.

While Esar-haddon and the Assyrians were so powerfully establishing themselves in the greater Asia, the Medes begun also to render themselves considerable. Dejoces their first king named Arphaxad in scripture, founded the stately city of Ecbatan, and laid the foundations of a great empire. They had placed him on the throne to crown his virtues, and to put an end to the disorders which anarchy occasioned among them. Conducted by so great a king, they supported themselves against their neighbours, but did not extend their dominion. Rome was advancing, but weakly. Under Tullus Hostilus her third king, and by the famous combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, Alba was conquered and destroyed. Its citizens incorporated in the victorious city, considerably enlarged and strengthened it. Romulus was the first who had pratised this method of augmenting the city, into which he admitted the Sabines and other conquered nations. They forgot their defeat, and became loyal subjects. Rome by extending her conquests, formed her soldiery; and under Tullus Hostilius she began to learn that excellent discipline which rendered her afterwards mistress of the world.

Herod. lib. i. c. 27.

671. 83.

A. C. 670. The kingdom of Egypt, weakened by its long divisions, was recovering under Psammeticus. This prince, who owed his crown to the Ionians and Carians, allowed them to settle in Egypt, till then shut up to strangers. On this occasion the Egyptians entered into commerce with the Grecians; and from this time likewise the history of Egypt, hitherto mixed with pompous fables through the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodote, to have some certainty. Meanwhile the kings of Assyria were growing more and more formidable to all the East. Saosduchin, son of Esar-haddon, called Nebuchodonosor in the book of Judith, defeated, in a 657. pitched battle, Arphaxad king of the Medes. Flushed with this success, he undertook the conquest of 658. the whole earth. With this design he passed the Euphrates, and ravaged all before him as far as Judea. The Jews had provoked God, by giving themselves up to idolatry, after the example of Manasseh; but they had repented with that prince, wherefore God took them also into his protection. The conquests of Nebuchodonosor and Holofernes his general, were stopped all at once by the band of a woman. Dejoces, though beaten by the Assyrians, left his kingdom in a condition of advancing under his successors. Whilst Phraortes, and Cyaxares the son of Phraortes, 642. subdued Persia, and pushed their conquests in the lesser Asia, as far as the banks of the Halys, Judea 641. beheld the wicked reign of Amon, the son of Manasseh, pass away: and Josiah the son of Amon, wise from a child, laboured to repair the breaches made by the impiety of the kings his predecessors. Rome, whose king was Ancus, Martius, subdued some of the Latins under his conduct; and continuing to make citizens of her enemies, shut them up within the compass of her walls. The people of Veii, al- 626. ready weakened by Romulus, suffered new losses. Ancus pushed his conquests as far as the neighbouring sea, and built the city Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber.

A. R. 84. Herod. lib. i. c. 85. 87. 98. 112. 119. 123.

A. C. At this time the kingdom of Babylon was invaded by A. R.
Nabopolasser. That traitor, whom Chinaladan, otherwise Sarac, had made general of his armies against Cyaxares king of the Medes, joined Astyages son of Cyaxares, took Chinaladanin Nineveh, destroyed that great city so long mistress of the east, and mounted his master's throne. Under this ambitious prince Babylon
624. swelled with pride. Judea, whose impiety increased 130.
beyond measure, had every thing to fear. Good king Josiah, by his profound humility, suspended for a little the punishment his people had deserved: but the
610. evil waxed greater under his children. Nebuchad- 144.
607. nezzar II. more terrible than his father Nabopolassor, 147.
succeeded him. That prince bred up in pride and continually exercised in war, made prodigious conquests both in the east and west; and Babylon threatened the whole earth with slavery. Its threats soon took effect with regard to the people of God. Jerusalem was given up to the haughty conqueror, who took it three several times: first, in the beginning of his reign, and fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, from whence are da-
Je. xxv 11. 12. xxix. 10. ted the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah: the second time
599. under Jechonias, or Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim; 155.
and the last time under Zedekiah, when the city was
588. razed to the ground, the temple reduced to ashes, and 166.
the king carried captive to Babylon, with Seraiah the high priest, and the greatest part of the people. The most eminent of those captives were the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel. Among them likewise are to be counted the three young men, whom Nebuchadnezzar could neither force to worship his image; nor had power to destroy by fire. Greece was now flourishing,
594. and the seven wise men were rendering themselves il- 160.
lustrious. Some time before the desolation of Jerusalem, Solon, one of those seven sages, gave laws to the Athenians, and established liberty upon the
578. foundation of justice: the Phocians of Iona carried 176.

A. C. their first colony to Marseilles. Tarquinius Priscus, A. R.
king of Rome, after having subjected part of Tuscany, and adorned the city with magnificent works, end-
586. ed his reign. In his time the Gauls, conducted by 188.
Bellovesus, possessed themselves of all the countries of Italy adjacent to the Po, while Segovesus his brother led another body of the same nation a great way into Germany. Servius Tullius, Tarquin's successor, instituted the Census, or list of the citizens disposed into certain classes, whereby that great city was regulated as a private family. Nebuchadnezzar beautified Babylon, which had enriched itself by the spoils of Jerusalem and the East: but it did not long enjoy
562. them. That king, who had adorned it with so much 192.
magnificence, saw upon his death-bed the approaching Abyd. apud Euseb. I. ix. Præp. Ev. c. ult.
ruin of the haughty city. His son Evilmerodach, having rendered himself odious by his debaucheries, had not reigned long when he was slain by Neriglissor his brother-in-law, who usurped the kingdom. Pisis-
560. tratus usurped also the sovereign authority in Athens, 194.
which he found means to maintain for the space of thirty years, amidst a number of vicissitudes, and which he even left to his children. Neriglissor could not suffer the power of the Medes, who were growing great in the East, and therefore declared war against them. While Astyages, son of Cyaxares I. was preparing for a vigorous resistance, he died, and left the war to be carried on by Cyaxares II. his son, called by
559. Daniel Darius the Mede. This last nominates for 195.
general of his army, Cyrus, the son of Mandane his sister, and of Cambyses king of Persia, which was subject to the empire of the Medes. The reputation of Cyrus, who had signalized himself in divers wars under Astyages his grandfather, united most of
548. the kings of the east under the standards of Cyaxa- 206.
nes. He took Cresus king of Lydia in his capital city, and made himself master of his immense rich-
543. es: he subdued the other allies of the kings of Baby- 211.
lon and extended his dominion not only over Syria,

A. C. 538. but even a great way into the lesser Asia. At last A. R. 216. he marched against Babylon, took it, and subjected it to Cyaxares his uncle: who, no less touched with his fidelity than his exploits, gave him his only daughter 537. and heir in marriage. In the reign of Cyaxares, 217. Daniel already honoured under the preceding reigns with several heavenly visions, wherein he saw in manifest figures so many kings and empires pass before him, learned by a new revelation those seventy famous weeks, in which the times of the CHRIST, and the destiny of the Jewish people are unfolded. It was weeks of years, so that they contained 490: and this way of reckoning was common among the Jews, who observed the seventh year, as well as 536. the seventh day, with a religious rest. Some time 218. after this vision, Cyaxares died, as did also Cambyses the father of Cyrus; and that great man who succeeded them, joined the kingdom of Persia, till then but obscure, to the kingdom of the Medes, which he had so vastly enlarged by his conquests. Thus was he peaceable master of the whole east, and founded the greatest empire that had ever been in the world. But what is most material to the connexion of our epochs, is, that this great conqueror, in the first year of his reign, gave his decree for rebuilding the temple of God at Jerusalem, and re-establishing the Jews in Judea.

We must stop a little at this period, which is the most intricate of all ancient chronology, by reason of the difficulty of reconciling profane with sacred history. You have, doubtless, Sir, already observed, that what I relate of Cyrus, is very different from what you have read of him in Justin; that he does not speak a word of the second kingdom of the Assyrians, nor of those famous kings of Assyria and Babylon, so renowned in sacred story; and that, in short, my account agrees very little with what that author tells us of the three first monarchies, namely, that of the Assyrians finished in the person of Sardanapalus, that of the

A. C. Medes ended in the person of Aystages, grandfather A. R.
of Cyrus, and that of the Persians begun by Cyrus, and destroyed by Alexander.

To Justin you may join Diodorus, with most of the Greek and Latin authors extant, who relate those pieces of history in a different manner from that which I have followed.

As to what regards Cyrus, profane authors are by no means agreed about his history: but I thought I ought rather to follow Xenophon with St. Jerom, than Ctesias a fabulous author, whom most of the Greeks have copied after, as Justin and the Latins have the Greeks, and even rather than Herodote himself, though he be a most judicious writer. What determined me to this choice was, that Xenophon's history, more coherent and more probable in itself, has this additional advantage, that it is more conformable to scripture, which by reason of its antiquity, and the connexion of the affairs of the Jewish nation, with those of the east, would merit to be preferred to all the Grecian histories, although we did not moreover know, that it was dictated by the holy spirit.

As to the three first monarchies, what most of the Greeks have written of them, has appeared doubtful to the wisest men of Greece. Plato shows in general, under the name of the priests of Egypt, that the Grecians were profoundly ignorant of antiquity: and Aristotle has ranked amongst the fabulous authors, those who wrote the Assyrian affairs.

Plat in Tim.

Arist. Polit. v. 10.

The matter is, the Grecians were late in beginning to write, and being willing to entertain Greece, ever curious, with ancient histories, they composed them from confused memoirs, which they contented themselves with putting in an agreeable order, without much minding the truth.

And sure the manner in which the three first monarchies are generally ranged, is evidently fabulous. For after having overthrown the Assyrian empire under Sardanapalus, the Medes are brought upon the

A. C. stage, and then the Persians; as if the Medes had succeeded to the whole power of the Assyrians, and the Persians had established themselves on the ruin of the Medes. A. R.

But on the contrary, it is certain that, when Arbaces raised the Medes in revolt against Sardanapalus, he did but set them free, without subjecting to them the empire of Assyria. Herodote, followed in this by the ablest chronologers, makes their first king Dejoces appear fifty years after their revolt; and it is farther certain from the concurring testimony of that great historian, and of Xenophon, not to mention others, that during the time allotted to the empire of the Medes, there were in Assyria some very powerful kings, who were formidable to the whole east, and whose empire Cyrus overthrew by the taking of Babylon.

Herod. l. i. c. 26, 27.

Herod. l. i. Xen. Cyrop. v. vi. &c.

If then most part of the Greeks, and of the Latins, who have followed them, say nothing of those Babylonish kings, if they allow no place to that great kingdom among the first monarchies, of which they relate the succession; in short, if we find little or nothing in their works concerning the famous kings Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many others so renowned in scripture, and in the eastern histories; we must impute it, either to the ignorance of the Greeks, who were more eloquent in their narrations, than curious in their inquiries; or to our having lost what was most authentic and exact in their histories.

And indeed Herodote had promised a particular history of the Assyrians, which we have not got, whether it has been lost, or he has not had time to write it; and we may believe that so judicious an historian would not have omitted the kings of the second empire of the Assyrians, since Sennacherib, who was one of them, is still to be found named in the books we have extant of that great author, as king of the Assyrians and Arabians.

Herod. l. i. c. 28, 37.

Herod. lib. ii. c. 91.

A. C. Strab. lib. xv. Strabo, who lived in the time of Augustus, relates what Megasthenes, an ancient author, who lived near the days of Alexander, had left in writing about the famous conquests of Nabuchodonosor king of the Chaldeans, whom he makes to overrun Europe, penetrate into Spain, and carry his arms as far as the pillars of Hercules. Ælian names Thilgamus king of Assyria, who is, undoubtedly, the Thgath, or Tiglath of sacred history; and we have in Ptolemy a catalogue of the princes, who ruled the great empires; among whom we find a long series of kings of Assyria, unknown to the Grecians, and whom it is easy to reconcile with sacred history. A. R.

Ælian, lib. xii. Hist. Anim. c. 21.

It were too tedious to rehearse what the Syrian annals, what Berosus, Abydenus, or Nicolaus of Damascus narrate to us. Josephus and Eusebius of Cesarea have preserved to us the precious fragments of all those authors, as well as of a great many others, that were complete in their time, whose testimony confirms what the holy scripture tells us concerning the eastern antiquities, and particularly concerning the Assyrian history.

Jos. Ant. lib. ix. c. ult. x. c. 11. l. i. cont. Ap. Eus. Præp. Evang. ix.

As for the monarchy of the Medes, to which most profane historians give the second place in the catalogue of great empires, as distinct from that of the Persians, it is certain that the scripture always joins them; and you see, Sir, that, besides the authority of the sacred books, the very order of the facts demonstrates, that it is to that we ought to adhere.

The Medes before Cyrus, though powerful and considerable, were eclipsed by the greatness of the kings of Babylon. But Cyrus having conquered their kingdom, by the united force of the Medes and Persians, whose master he afterwards by lawful succession became, as we have observed after Xenophon; it appears that the great empire, whereof he was founder, must have taken its name from both nations; so that that of the Medes, and that of the Persians, were but one

and the same thing; though the glory of Cyrus has made the name of the Persians to prevail. A. C. A. M.

We may likewise imagine, that before the war of Babylon, the kings of the Medes having extended their conquests on the side of the Grecian Colonies in Asia Minor, were by this means famous among the Greeks, who ascribed to them the empire of the greater Asia, because they knew none but them of all the kings of the East. Yet the kings of Nineveh and Babylon, more powerful, but less known to Greece, have been almost quite forgot in what Grecian histories we have extant; and the whole time from Sardanapalus to Cyrus, has been given to the Medes alone.

Thus we need no longer be at so much pains to reconcile, in this particular, profane with sacred history. For as to what regards the first kingdom of the Assyrians, scripture hints at it only by the by, and names neither Ninus the founder of that empire, nor excepting Phul, any of his successors; because their history has no connexion with that of the people of God. As for the second Assyrians, the Greeks have been either entirely ignorant of them, or though not knowing them sufficiently, have confounded them with the first.

When therefore any one objects those Greek authors, who range the three first monarchies according to their fancy, and make the Medes succeed to the ancient empire of Assyria, without mentioning the new one, which the scripture exhibits so powerful, we have only to answer, that they have not been acquainted with that part of history; and that they are no less repugnant to the most curious and best informed authors of their own nation, than to holy scripture.

And, what in one word cuts off the whole difficulty, is, that sacred authors, being nearer, both in time and situation, to the eastern kingdoms; writing besides the history of a people whose affairs are so interwoven with those of the great empires, though they had no other than this advantage, might be sufficient to silence

A.C. the Greeks, and the Latins who have copied after A.R. them.

If, nevertheless, some will persist in maintaining that commonly received order of the three first monarchies, and if, to preserve to the Medes alone the second rank which is given them, they will subject to them the kings of Babylon; yet by owning that after about an hundred years subjection, these regained their liberty by a revolt, they save in some measure the coherence of sacred history, but agree little with the best profane historians, to whom holy writ is more favourable, in that it constantly unites the empire of the Medes with that of the Persians.

But there still remains to be discovered to you one of the causes of the obscurity of those ancient histories, and it is this: as the kings of the East assumed several names, or, if you will, several titles, which afterwards took place of their proper names; and as different nations translated, or pronounced them differently, according to the respective idioms of each language, histories so very ancient, of which there remain so few authentic memoirs, must have been thereby very much obscured. This confusion of names has doubtless caused a great deal of confusion in things themselves, and in persons; and hence proceeds the difficulty we find to situate in the Grecian history the kings who have had the name of Ahasuerus or Assuerus, which was as much unknown to the Greeks, as known to the people of the East.

And indeed, who should think that Cyaxares were the same name with Assuerus, compounded of the word Ky, that is, Lord, and Axares, which manifestly coincides with Axuerus, or Assuerus? Three or four princes have bore the name, though they had others besides. Were we not informed that Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabuchodonosor, Nabuchodrosor, and Nabopolassar, are but one and the same name, or the name of one and the same man, we should have difficulty to believe it; and yet the thing is certain.

A. C. Sargon is Sennacherib; Uzziah is Azariah; Zedekiah is Mattaniah; Joachas, or Jehoahas, was also called Shallum; Ezar-haddon, which is likewise wrote Asaraddon, or Asor-haddan, is named Asenaphar by the Cuthites; and by an oddity, of which we know not the origin, Sardanapalus finds himself named by the Greeks, Tonos Concoleros. One might make out a long list of eastern princes, who have, each of them, had several different names in history; but it is sufficient to have given you a general hint of the custom. Nor was it unknown to the Latins, among whom titles and adoptions multiplied names so variously. Thus the title of Augustus, and that of Africanus, became the proper names of Cesar Octavianus, and of the Scipio's; and thus were the Nero's Cesars. The thing is undoubted, and it is needless to dwell longer on so allowed a fact. A. C. Ezr. iv. 2

I do not intend, Sir, to trouble you any more with the difficulties of chronology, which are very little material to you. This, indeed, was of too great importance not to be cleared up in this place; and now having told you what is sufficient for our design, I resume the series of our epochs.

VIII. Epoch. Cyrus, or the Jews restored. Sixth age of the world. 536. IT was then 218 years after the foundation of Rome, 536 years before Jesus Christ, at the expiration of the 70 years captivity in Babylon, and the same year that Cyrus founded the Persian empire, that that prince, chosen of God to be the deliverer of his people, and restorer of his temple, put his hand to the great work. Immediately after the publication of this order, Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, attended by Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the high priest, brought back the captives who rebuilt the altar, and laid the foundations of the second temple. The Samaritans, jealous of their glory, wanted to have a share in this great work; and upon pretence that they worshipped the God of Israel, though they blended his worship with that of their false gods, they besought Zerubbabel to permit them to rebuild the temple of God with him. But the 218. 565. 218. Ezr. iv. 2, 3.

A. C. children of Judah, who abhorred their mixed worship, A. R.
rejected the proposal. The Samaritans provoked,
thwarted their design by all manner of artifices and
outrages. About this time, Servius Tullius, after hav-
ing enlarged the city of Rome, formed the scheme of
533. turning it into a commonwealth. But he was cut off 221.
in the midst of these thoughts, by the counsel of his
own daughter, and command of Tarquin the proud,
his son-in-law. That tyrant took possession of the
kingdom, wherein he exercised a long time all manner
of violence. Meanwhile the empire of the Persians
continued advancing. Besides those immense pro-
vinces of the greater Asia, the whole vast continent of
the lower Asia owned their sway; the Lydians and
525. Arabians were subdued; Egypt, so jealous of its laws, 229.
received theirs. The conquest of it was made by Cam-
523. byses the son of Cyrus. That brute did not long sur- 232.
vive his brother Smerdis, whom an ambiguous dream
caused him to murder privately. Smerdis the mage
reigned some time under the name of Smerdis, the
brother of Cambyses; but this imposture was soon de-
521. tected. The seven chief lords conspired against him, 233.
and one of them was placed upon the throne. This
Herod. was Darius, son of Hystaspes, who in his inscriptions
lib. iv. c. 159. styled himself the best, and handsomest of all men.
Several marks discover him to be the Ahasuerus of
the book of Esther, though it is not a settled point.
In the beginning of his reign the temple was finished,
after various interruptions caused by the Samaritans.
An irreconcilable hatred took place between the two
nations, and nothing was more opposite than Jerusalem
and Samaria. In the time of Darius, commence the
liberty of Rome and Athens, and the great glory of
Greece. Harmodius and Aristogiton, Athenians, de-
liver their country from Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus,
and are slain by his guards. Hippias, the brother of
Hipparchus attempts, in vain, to support his title. He
is expelled; and the tyranny of the family of Pisistra-
510. tus is utterly abolished. The Athenians, re-instated 244.

A. C. in their liberty, erect statues to their deliverers, and re-establish the popular government. Hippias throws himself into the arms of Darius, whom he finds already disposed to undertake the conquest of Greece, and all his hope now lies in his protection. At the time he was expelled, Rome also got rid of her tyrants. Tarquin the proud had rendered the regal dignity odious by his oppression and violence: the lewdness of Sex-
509. tus his son gave it the finishing stroke. Lucretia de- 245.
flowered, killed herself: her blood, and the harangues of Brutus, spirited up the Romans. The kings were banished, and consular government established upon the plan of Servius Tullius; but it was soon weakened by the jealousy of the people. In the first consulship, P. Valerius the consul, celebrated for his victories, became suspected by his citizens; and to satisfy them, was obliged to enact the law, which allowed an appeal to the people, from the senate and consuls, in all causes wherein the punishment of a citizen was concerned. The expelled Tarquins found friends: the neighbouring kings looked upon their banishment as an indignity offered to all crowned heads; and Porsenna, king of the Clusians, a people of Hetruria, took up arms
507. against Rome: which being reduced to the last ex- 247.
tremity, and almost taken, was saved by the valour of Horatius Cocles. The Romans performed wonders in defence of their liberty: Scevola, a young citizen, burned the hand which had missed Porsenna; Clelia, a young virgin, astonished that prince by her resolution: Porsenna left Rome in peace, and the Tarquins
500. remained succourless. Hippias, for whom Darius de- 254.
clared, had some better hopes. All Persia rose in his behalf, and Athens was threatened with a dreadful
493. war. Whilst Darius was making preparations, Rome, 261.
that had so gallantly defended herself against foreign powers, had like to have fallen by her own hand: the jealousy had revived between the Patricians and Plebeians: the consular power, though already moderated by the Valerian law, seemed still exorbitant to a people

A. R.

A. C. too jealous of their liberty. They seceded to the A. R.
Aventine mount: violent overtures proved fruitless; nothing could bring back the people, but the calm remonstrances of Menenius Agrippa: it was necessary, however, to find some lenitives, and to grant the people tribunes to defend them against the consuls. The law which instituted this new magistracy, was called the sacred law; and such was the rise of the tribunes of the people. Darius had at last openly broke with Greece. His son-in-law Mardonius, after overrunning Asia, thought to overpower the Grecians by his num-
490. bers; but Miltiades, with ten thousand Athenians, de- 264.
feated that vast army in the plain of Marathon. Rome was beating all her enemies round about, and seemed to have nothing to fear but from herself. Coriolanus, a zealous patrician, and the greatest captain she had, being expelled notwithstanding his services, by the po-
489. pular faction, meditated the ruin of his country, led on 265.
488. the Volci against it, reduced it to the last extremity, and 266.
nothing but his mother could appease him. Greece enjoyed not long the tranquillity which the battle of Marathon had procured her. In order to revenge the affront of Persia and Darius, Xerxes his son and successor, and grandson of Cyrus by his mother Atossa,
480. attacked the Grecians with 1100,000 fighting men, 274.
(some say 1700,000) without reckoning his naval force of 1200 ships. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with no more than three hundred men, killed him 20,000 of them at the streights of Thermoplyæ, and bravely died with all his followers. By the conduct of Themistocles the Athenian, Xerxes's naval armament is the same year defeated near Salamis. That prince repassed the
479. Hellespont in consternation; and a year after, his land 275.
army, which Mardonius commanded, is cut to pieces nigh Platea, by Pausanias king of Lacedemon, and Aristides the Athenian, surnamed the just. The battle was fought in the morning, and in the evening of that famous day. The Ionian Greeks who had shaken off the yoke of the Persians, killed thirty thousand of them

A. C. in the battle of Mycale, under the conduct of Leoty- A. R.
chides. That general, to hearten his soldiers, told them, that Mardonius was just defeated in Greece. The news proved true, either by some unaccountable effect of fame, or rather by a lucky hit of conjecture; and all the Grecians of the lesser Asia set themselves at liberty. That nation was gaining every where considerable advantages; and, a little before, the Carthagenians, then powerful, were beat in Sicily, which they had invaded at the instigation of the Persians. Notwithstanding this ill success, they did not cease forming new designs upon an island, so commodious for securing the empire of the sea, which was the great aim of their republic. Greece enjoyed it then, but her attention was wholly turned upon the east and the
477. Persians. Pausanias had just freed the island of Cy- 277.
prus from their yoke, when he conceived the design of enslaving his country. All his schemes proved abortive, notwithstanding the great promises of Xerxes: the traitor was betrayed by him he loved best, and his
474. infamous affection cost him his life. The same year 280.
Xerxes was slain by Artabanus, captain of his guards: Arist. Polit. v. 10.
either the perfidious wretch wanted to mount his master's throne, or else he dreaded the severity of a prince, whose cruel orders he had not readily enough execut-
473. ed. Artaxerxes Longimanus his son began his reign, 281.
and shortly after received a letter from Themistocles, who, being proscribed by his citizens, made him a proffer of his service against the Grecians. He, well knowing how to prize so renowned a captain, gave him a great appointment, in spite of the jealousy of the Satraps.
457. That magnanimous prince protected the Jews, 287.
Ezr. vii.viii and in his twentieth year, memorable for its conse-
454. quences, he permitted Nehemiah to rebuild Jerusalem 300.
Neh. ii. with her walls. This decree of Artaxerxes differs from that of Cyrus, in that Cyrus's related to the temple, and this was made for the city. At this decree, fore-
Dan. ix. 25. seen by Daniel, and mentioned in his prophecy, the 490 years of his weeks commence. This important

A. C. date has very solid foundations. The banishment of Themistocles is placed by Eusebius's chronicle, in the last year of the 76th Olympiad, which answers to the 280th of Rome. Other chronologists bring it a little farther down; the difference is inconsiderable, and the circumstances of time confirm Eusebius's date. They are taken from Thucydides, a most accurate historian; and this grave author, almost contemporary, as well as fellow-citizen, with Themistocles, makes him write his letter in the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes. Cornelius Nepos, an ancient and judicious, as well as elegant author, admits no doubt of this date after the authority of Thucydides; an argument so much the more solid, that another author, more ancient still than Thucydides, entirely agrees with him. And that is Charon of Lampsachus, quoted by Plutarch; and Plutarch himself adds, that the annals, meaning those of Persia, are conformable to these two authors. He does not, however, follow them, but gives us no reason for it; and the historians, who begin the reign of Artaxerxes eight or nine years later, are neither of that time, nor of so great authority. It appears therefore unquestionable, that its beginning is to be placed towards the end of the 76th Olympiad, and near the 208th year of Rome, whereby the twentieth year of that prince must fall towards the end of the 81st Olympiad, and about Rome's 300th year. In fine, those who cast the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign lower, to reconcile authors, are reduced to suppose, that his father had, at least, associated him in the kingdom, when Themistocles wrote his letter; and which way ever it is, our date is ascertained. This foundation being laid, the rest of the computation is easy, which the sequel will make evidently appear. After the decree of Artaxerxes, the Jews laboured hard in rebuilding their city and its walls, as Daniel had foretold. Nehemiah conducted the work with great prudence and resolution, amidst all the opposition made by the Samaritans, Arabians, and Ammonites. The people strenuously

A. R.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

Corn. Nep. in Themis.

Plut. in Them.

Dan. ix. 25.

A. C. exerted themselves, and Eliashib the high priest ani- A. R.
mated them by his example. Meantime the new ma-
gistrates, that had been given to the Roman people,
fomented the divisions of the city; and Rome, form-
ed under kings, wanted the laws necessary for the good
constitution of a commonwealth. The reputation of
Greece, still more celebrated for its government than
for its victories, moved the Romans to take from
452. thence their pattern. So they sent deputies to study 302.
the laws of the cities of Greece, and especially those
of Athens, which were the most agreeable to the state
451. of their republic. Upon this model, ten absolute ma- 303.
gistrates, who were created the year after under the
450. name of Decemvirs, digested the laws of the twelve 304.
tables, which are the foundation of the Roman law.
The people, charmed with the equity with which they
composed them, suffered them to ingross the supreme
449. power, which they used in a tyrannical manner. Great 305.
commotions were now occasioned by the incontinence
of Appius Claudius, one of the Decemvirs, and by the
murder of Virginia, whom her father chose rather to
kill with his own hand, than suffer her to be prostitut-
ed to Appius's passion. The blood of this second Lu-
cretia roused the Roman people, and the Decemvirs,
were expelled. While the Roman laws were forming
under the Decemvirs, Ezra, a doctor of the law, and
Nehemiah, governor of God's people, newly re-esta-
blished in Judea, were reforming abuses, and enforcing
Neh. xiii. Deut. xxiii. 3. the observance of the law of Moses by their example
as well as authority. One of the principal articles, of
their reformation was, to oblige all the people, and par-
ticularly the priests, to put away the strange wives,
whom they had married contrary to the law. Ezra put
the sacred books in order, accurately revised them,
and collected the ancient memoirs of the people of
God, to compose the two books of the Paralipomena,
or Chronicles, whereto he added the history of his own
time, which was finished by Nehemiah. Their books
conclude that long history begun by Moses, and unin-

A. C. terruptedly continued by succeeding authors, down to A. R.
the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The rest of sacred history is not written in the same order. While Ezra and Nehemiah were forming the last part of that great work, Herodote, by profane authors called the father of history, began to write. Thus the last authors of sacred history coincide with the first authors of the Grecian history; and when it begins, that of the people of God, to take it only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodote could not make any mention of the Jews in the history he has left us; and the Grecians had no need to be informed of any people but such as war, commerce, or renown made known to them. Judea, which was beginning, with difficulty, to rise from its ruins, attracted no regard. It was in those unhappy times that the Hebrew tongue ceased to be common. During the captivity, and afterwards by the commerce the Jews were obliged to have with the Chaldeans, they learned the Chaldaic language, which was very near akin to their own, and had almost the same idiom. For this reason they changed the ancient figure of the Hebrew letters, and wrote the Hebrew with Chaldaic characters, which were more in use among them, and easier to be formed. This change was easy between two neighbouring languages, whose letters had the same power, and differed only in shape. From that time we find the holy scripture among the Jews, only in Chaldaic characters; but the Samaritans ever retained the ancient way of writing it. Their posterity have persevered in this practice down to our days, and have, by that means, preserved to us the Pentateuch, which is called Samaritan, in ancient Hebrew characters, such as we find on medals, and on all the monuments of ages past.

The Jews lived pretty comfortably under the authority of Artaxerxes. That prince, reduced by Cimon (son of Miltiades) general of the Athenians, to make a shameful peace, despaired of conquering the Greeks by force, and now considered only how to profit by their

A. C. divisions; which were come to a great height between A. R.
the Athenians and Lacedemonians. These two states,
by their jealousy of each other, divided all Greece.
431. Pericles an Athenian commenced the Peloponnesian 323
war, during which Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and
Alcibiades, Athenians, rendered themselves renowned.
In it too Brasidas and Myndarus, Lacedemonians, di-
ed bravely fighting for their country. This war having
lasted twenty-seven years, ended to the advantage of
Lacedemon, which had engaged on its side Darius,
surnamed the bastard, the son and successor of Artax-
404. erxes. Lysander, captain of the Lacedemonian fleet, 350.
took Athens, and altered its form of government. But
Persia soon perceived she had rendered the Lacede-
401. monians too powerful. They supported the young 353.
Cyrus in his revolt against Artaxerxes his elder bro-
ther, called Mnemon on account of his great memory,
the son and successor of Darius. That young prince,
saved from confinement and death by his mother Pa-
risatis, meditates vengeance, wins the hearts of the
Satraps by his endearing manner, overruns the lesser
Asia, marches to give battle to the king his brother,
in the heart of his empire, wounds him with his own
hand, and too soon thinking himself sure of the victory,
perishes through his own rashness. The ten thousand
Grecians who followed his fortune, make that amaz-
ing retreat, which was, in the end, conducted by Xen-
ophon, a great philosopher and captain, who has wrote
the history of it. The Lacedemonians continued
their attacks upon the Persian empire, which Agesi-
396. laus, king of Sparta, made to tremble in the lesser 358.
Asia; but the divisions of Greece called him home to
his own country. About that time the city of Veii,
the formidable rival of Rome's glory, after a siege of
ten years, and a great deal of various success, was tak-
394. en by the Romans, under the conduct of Camillus. 360.
His generosity gained him also another conquest.
The Falisci, whom he besieged, surrendered to him,
being touched with his sending them back their chil-

A. C. dren, whom a school-master had delivered up into his A. R.
hands. Rome would not conquer by treachery, nor
take advantage of the perfidy of a villain, who abused
391. the obedience of an innocent age. A little after, the 363.
Galli Senones entered Italy, and laid siege to Clusium.
390. They gained over the Romans the famous battle of 364.
Allia. Rome was taken and burned. While the
Romans defended themselves in the capitol, their
affairs were retrieved by Camillus, whom they Polyb. l. i. c. 6.
had banished. The Gauls had remained seven lib. ii. c. 18.
months masters of Rome, when being necessarily call- 22.
ed elsewhere, they withdrew themselves, loaded with
371. booty. During the broils of Greece, Epaminondas 383.
the Theban signalised himself by his equity and mo-
deration, as much as by his victories. It is remarked
of him, that he laid it down as an inviolable rule, ne-
ver to make a lie, even in jest. His great actions
shine forth in the last years of Mnemon, and the first
of Ochus.

Under so great a captain the Thebans are victo-
rious, and the power of Lacedemon is brought low.
359. That of the kings of Macedon begins with Philip the 395.
father of Alexander the great. Notwithstanding the
opposition of Ochus and Arses his son, kings of Persia,
and the still greater difficulties created him in Athens
by the eloquence of Demosthenes, a powerful asserter
of liberty, that victorious prince in the space of twenty
years, subjected all Greece, where the battle of Che-
ronea, which he gained over the Athenians and their
338. allies, gave him an absolute power. In that famous 416.
battle, whilst he broke the Athenians, he had the joy
to see Alexander at the age of eighteen, plunge through
the Theban troops, of Epaminondas's discipline, and
among others, the sacred troop, called the friends,
which thought itself invincible. Thus master of
Greece, and supported by a son of so great hopes, he
begun to conceive higher designs, and meditated no-
thing less than the ruin of the Persians, against whom
337. he was declared captain-general. But their overthrow 417.
was reserved for Alexander. In the midst of the so-

A. C. lemnities of a second marriage, Philip was assassinated A. H.
by Pausannias, a young man of a good family, to whom
336. he had not done justice. The eunuch Bagoas, in the 418.
same year, killed Arses, king of Persia, and gave the
kingdom to Darius, son of Arsames, surnamed Codo-
mannus. This prince, by his valour, challenges our as-
sent to the opinion, in other respects the most pro-
bable, which makes him descended from the royal fa-
mily. Thus two brave kings begun their reigns to-
gether, Darius, son of Arsames, and Alexander, son
of Philip. They looked upon each other with a jealous
eye, and seemed born to dispute the empire of the
world. But Alexander was willing to establish him-
335. self, before he attacked his rival. He revenged the 419.
death of his father; he subdued the rebellious nations,
who despised his youth; he beat the Greeks, who
vainly attempted to shake off the yoke; and destroyed
Thebes, where he spared nothing but the house and
descendants of Pindar, whose odes were admired in
Greece. Powerful and victorious he marches, after
334. so many exploits, at the head of the Grecians, against 420.
331. Darius, whom he defeats in three pitched battles, en- 421.
330. ters triumphant into Babylon and Susa, demolishes 423.
327. Persepolis, the ancient seat of the kings of Persia, 424.
pushes his conquests as far as the Indies, and returns 427.
324. to Babylon, where he dies, in the 33d year of his age. 430.

In his time Manasses, brother of Jaddus the high
priest, raised some commotions among the Jews. He
333. had married the daughter of Sanballat a Samaritan, 421.
whom Darius had made satrap of that country. Ra-
ther than put away this stranger, to which the council
of Jerusalem, and his brother Jaddus, would oblige
him, he embraced the schism of the Samaritans.
Many Jews, to avoid like censures, joined him. From
that time he resolved to build a temple near Samaria,
upon mount Gerizim, which the Samaritans accounted
holy, and to make himself high priest of it. His fa-
ther-in-law, who was in great favour with Darius, as-
sured him of that prince's protection, and the conse-

A. C. quences proved still more favourable to him. Alex- A. R.
322. ander arose: Sanballat deserted his master, and car- 422.
ried troops over to the victors during the siege of Tyre. And thus he obtained all he wanted; the temple of Gerizim was built, and the ambition of Manasses was satisfied. The Jews, however, still faithful to the Persians, refused Alexander the succours he demanded of them. He marched to Jerusalem, breathing revenge; but his wrath was turned away upon seeing the high priest come out to meet him, with the priests in their ceremonial robes, preceded by all the people clothed in white. He was shown some prophecies, which foretold his victories: the prophecies were those of Daniel. He granted the Jews all their requests, and they observed the same fidelity to him, they had ever done to the kings of Persia.

326. During his conquests, Rome was engaged with the 428.
325. 429.
324. Samnites her neighbours, and had the utmost difficulty 430.
to reduce them, notwithstanding the valour and conduct of Papyrius Cursor, the most illustrious of her generals. After the death of Alexander, his empire was divided. Perdiccas, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Antigonus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Antipater, and his son Cas-
324. sander; in a word, all his captains trained up in war under so great a conqueror, thought to make them- 430.
324. selves masters of it by force of arms. They sacrificed 436.
318. 438.
316. to their ambition the whole family of Alexander, his 444.
310.
309. brother, his mother, his wives, his children, and his 445.
very sisters: nothing was to be seen but bloody battles, and dreadful revolutions. In the midst of so many disorders, several nations of Asia Minor, and the neighbourhood set themselves free, and formed the kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, and Pergamus. The goodness of the soil made them afterwards rich and powerful. The Armenians too threw off at the same time the Macedonian yoke, and became a great kingdom. The two Mithridates, father and son, founded that of Cappadocia. But the two most powerful monarchies that then arose, were, that of Egypt founded by Pto-

A. C. lemy son of Lagus, from whom proceed the Lagidæ, A. R.
320. and that of Asia, or Syria, founded by Seleucus, from 431.
312. whom come the Seleucidæ. The latter comprehended besides Syria, those vast and rich provinces of the upper Asia, which composed the empire of the Persians. Thus the whole East became subject to Greece, and learned its language; while Greece itself was oppressed by Alexander's captains. Macedon his ancient kingdom, which gave masters to the East, fell a prey to the first comer: Cassander's sons drove each other
296. out of that kingdom. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who 458.
had seised on part of it, was expelled by Antigonus's
294. son, Demetrius Poliorcetus, whom he expelled also in 460.
289. his turn: he is himself driven out once more by Ly- 465.
288. simachus, and Lysimachus by Seleuchus, whom Pto- 468.
281. lemy Ceraunus, being expelled Egypt by his father 473.
Ptolemy I. treacherously murdered, notwithstanding
280. the favours he had received from him. This perfidious 474.
villain had no sooner usurped Macedon, than he was attacked by the Gauls, and fell in a battle he fought
279. with them. During the troubles of the East, they 475.
came into the lesser Asia, headed by their king Brennus; and settled in Gallo-grecia, or Gallatia, so called from their name, whence they penetrated into Macedonia, which they ravaged, and made all Greece tremble. But their army perished in the sacrilegious
278. attempt upon the temple of Delphos. That nation 476.
was ever enterprising, but every where unsuccessful.
283. Some years before the affair of Delphos, the Gauls of 471. Polyb.
Italy, whom their continual wars and frequent victories lib. ii. 20.
rendered the terror of the Romans, were stirred up against them by the Samnites, the Brutians, and the Hetrurians. They gained at first a new victory, but sullied the glory of it by putting to death some ambassadors. The Romans fired with indignation, march against them, defeat them, invade their territories,
282. where they plant a colony, beat them twice more, sub- 472.
ject one part of them, and reduce the other to sue for
277. peace. After the eastern Gauls were driven out of 477.

A. C. Greece, Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Pollior- A. R.
cetes, who had reigned twelve years in Greece, but
little of that time in peace, made an easy purchase of
280. Macedonia. Pyrrhus was employed elsewhere. Ex- 474.
pelled that kingdom, he hoped to satisfy his ambition
by the conquest of Italy, whither he was called by the
Tarentines. The battle, which the Romans had won
over them and the Samnites, left them no other re-
source. He gained some victories over the Romans
279. which brought them very low. The elephants of Pyr- 475.
rhus astonished them; but the consul Fabricius soon
showed the Romans, that Pyrrhus might be conquer-
ed. The king and the consul seemed to dispute the
glory of generosity, yet more than that of arms: Pyr-
rhus gave up to the consul all the prisoners without
ransom, saying, "That war should be made with steel,
278. not with silver:" and Fabricius sent back to the king, 476.
his perfidious physician, who had come to him with an
offer to poison his master. In these days the Jewish
religion and nation begins to be known among the
Greeks. That people well treated by the kings of
Syria, lived quietly according to its own laws. An-
tiochus Theus, grandson of Seleucus, spread them
over the lesser Asia, whence they extend themselves
into Greece, and every where enjoyed the same pri- Jos. Ant.
vileges and liberties with the other citizens. Ptolemy, xii. 3.
son of Lagus, had already settled them in Egypt. Un-
der his son Ptolemy Philadelphus their scriptures were
turned into Greek, and then appeared that celebrated
version called the Septuagint. It was performed by
seventy old men, whom Eleazer the high-priest had
sent to the king at his desire. Some will have it, that
Jos. Ant. l. i. c. i. lib. xii. c. 2. they translated no more than the Pentateuch. The
rest of the sacred books might afterwards have been
put into Greek for the use of the Jews that were dis-
persed over Egypt and Greece, where they forgot not
only their own ancient language, which was the He-
brew, but also the Chaldaic, which they had learned
in their captivity. They formed to themselves a Greek

A. C. mixed with Hebraisms, which is called the Hellenistic language; and in this both the Septuagint, and the whole New Testament are written. During this dispersion of the Jews, their temple was celebrated over the whole earth, and all the eastern kings presented there their offerings. The attention of the West was fixed upon the war between the Romans and Pyrrhus. A. M.

275. At length, that king was defeated, by the consul Curius, and repassed into Epirus. He had not been long at rest there, when he proposed to indemnify himself on 479.

274. Macedon for his ill success in Italy. Antigonus Gonatas was confined to Thessalonica, being forced to 480.

272. quit to Pyrrhus all the rest of the kingdom. He again took courage, whilst the restless and ambitious Pyrrhus made war upon the Lacedemonians and Argives. The two adverse kings were brought into Argos at one and the same time, by two opposite factions, and two different gates. A great battle was fought in the city, where a mother seeing her son pursued by Pyrrhus, whom he had wounded, knocked out that prince's brains with a stone. Antigonus thus rid of such an enemy, recovered Macedon, which, after some revolutions, remained in the peaceable possession of his family. The Achean league prevented its growth in power. This was the last bulwark of the liberty of Greece, and this it was, which produced her last heroes in Aratus and Philopemen. 482.

The Tarentines, whom Pyrrhus had amused with hopes, called the Carthaginians to their aid after his death. But this succour proved of no use to them: they were beat by the Brutians and Samnites their allies. These, after seventy-two years continual war, were forced to submit to the Roman yoke. Tarentum quickly followed them: the neighbouring states could not hold out: and thus all the ancient nations of Italy were subdued. The Gauls, often beat, durst not stir. After 480 years war, the Romans finding themselves masters of Italy, began to turn their eyes abroad: they now conceived a jealousy of the Cartha- Polyb. lib. i. ii. 1.

A. C. ginians growing too powerful in their neighbourhood, A. R.
by the conquests they were making in Sicily, from whence they had made an attack on them, and upon Italy, by coming to the assistance of the Tarentines. The republic of Carthage commanded both coasts of the Mediterranean. Besides that of Afric, which she almost entirely possessed, she had extended herself on the Spanish side through the Streights. Thus mistress of the sea, and of commerce, she had seized on the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. Sicily had difficulty to defend itself, and Italy was too nearly threatened not
284. to be alarmed. Hence the Punic wars, notwithstand- 490.
ing treaties, but ill observed on bothsides. The first taught the Romans to fight upon the sea. They were presently masters in an art which they were not acquainted with; and the consul Duilius, who fought the
260. first naval battle, gained it. Regulus supported that 494.
259. glory, and landed in Afric, where he had to engage 495.
256. that prodigious serpent, against which he was obliged 498.
to employ his whole army. Every thing yields: Carthage reduced to the last extremity, is saved solely by
255. the aid of Xantippus the Lacedemonian. The Ro- 499.
man general is beat and taken; but his captivity renders him more glorious than his victories. Being sent back, upon his parole, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, he comes and maintains in the senate the law, which cut off all hope from such as suffered themselves to be taken, and returns to a certain death. Two dreadful shipwrecks forced the Romans to abandon, once more, the empire of the sea to the Carthaginians. Victory remained long doubtful between the two nations, and the Romans were ready to yield: but they
241. repaired their fleet. One single battle decided, and 513.
the consul Lutatius put an end to the war. Carthage was obliged to pay tribute, and to give up, together with Sicily, all the islands that lay between Sicily and Italy. The Romans gained that whole island, except what belonged to Hiero king of Syracuse their ally. After the war was ended, the Carthaginians had like to

A. C. have been ruined by an insurrection of their army. A. H. They had according to their custom, composed it of Polyb. lib. i. c. foreign troops, who revolted for their pay. Their cru- 62. el government caused almost all the cities of their em- lib. ii. c. pire to join those mutinous troops; and Carthage, closely besieged, had been undone, but for Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. He alone had supported the last
232. war. To him his citizens owed also the victory they 516. got over the rebels: but it cost them Sardinia, which the revolt of their garrison laid open to the Romans. For fear of involving herself in a new quarrel with Polyb. them, Carthage yielded up, with reluctance, that im- lib. i. c. portant island, and submitted to an augmentation of 83. her tribute. She now turned her thoughts towards re-establishing her dominion in Spain, which had been
230. shaken by the revolt. Hamilcar passed into that pro- 524. vince with his son Hannibal, then but nine years old; and there fell in a battle. During nine years that he carried on the war there with equal conduct and courage, his son was forming under so great a captain, and at the same time imbibing an implacable hatred to the Romans. His kinsman, Asdrubal was appointed his father's successor. He governed his province with a great deal of prudence, and built in it New-Carthage, which held Spain in subjection. The Romans were engaged in a war with Teuta Queen of Illyria, who exercised piracies all along the coast with impunity. Flushed with the booty she made of the Greeks and people of Epirus, she despised the Romans, and put their ambassador to death. But she was soon hum-
229. bled: the Romans left her nothing but a small part of 525.
228. Illyria, and gained the island of Corfu, which that 526. queen had usurped. They then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time their power was known there. As-
Polyb. lib. ii. drubal's great progress gave them some jealousy, but
c. 21. 22. the Gauls of Italy diverted their attention from the affairs of Spain. Five and forty years had they remain-

A. C. ed quiet. The youth who had grown up in that time, A. R.
Id. cod. thought no more of past losses, but began to threaten
Pb C. Rome. The Romans, in order to attack with the
21. more security such turbulent neighbours, first made
sure of the Carthaginians. A treaty was concluded
224 with Asdrubal, who engaged not to pass beyond the 530.
Ebro. The war between the Romans and Gauls was
carried on with fury on both sides: the Transalpines
joined the Cisalpines: all were beaten. Concolitanus
one of the Gaulish kings, was taken in battle: Aneroestus, another king, killed himself. The Romans, victorious, passed the Po for the first time, being resolved to strip the Gauls of the lands adjacent to that river, of which they had been in possession for so ma-
220 ny ages. Victory followed them wherever they went: 534.
Milan was taken; almost the whole country was subjected. About this time Asdrubal died; and Hannibal, though but five and twenty years of age, was made choice of to fill his place. From that moment war was foreseen. The new governor undertook openly to subdue Spain, without any regard to treaties. Then Rome heard the complaints of Saguntum her ally.
219. Roman ambassadors go to Carthage. The Carthagi- 535.
nians now recovered, were no longer in the humour of yielding. Sicily snatched out of their hands, Sardinia unjustly taken from them, and the augmented tribute, stuck deeply in their stomachs. So the faction that was for abandoning Hannibal, found itself but weak. That general had his eyes every where. Some secret embassies had assured him of the Gauls of Italy, who, no longer in condition to attempt any thing by their own strength, embraced this opportunity of retrieving themselves. Hannibal crosses the Ebro, the Pyrenees, the whole Transalpine Gaul, the Alps, and falls down, as it were in a moment upon Italy. The Gauls do not fail to strengthen his army, and make
218. a last effort for their liberty. Four battles lost threat- 536.
217. en the fall of Rome. Sicily sides with the conquer- 537.
216. or. Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, declares against 538.
215. 539.
212. 542.

A. C. the Romans: almost all Italy abandons them; and the last resource of the republic seems cut off in Spain with the two Scipio's. In such extremities Rome owed its preservation to three great men. The constancy of Fabius Maximus, who despising popular clamours, made war by way of retreat, was a bulwark to his country. Marcellus, who raised the siege of Nola, and took Syracuse, inspired the troops with new vigour, by those actions. But Rome, though she admired these two great men, thought she saw somewhat still greater in the young Scipio. The wonderful success of his counsels, confirmed the entertained opinion, that he was of race divine, and that he conversed with the gods. At the age of four and twenty, he undertakes to go into Spain, where his father and uncle had just before lost their lives: he attacks New-Carthage, as if he had acted by inspiration, and his soldiers carry it at the first assault. All that see him are won over to the Roman people: the Carthaginians give up Spain to him: upon his arrival in Afric, kings submit to him: Carthage trembles in her turn, and sees her armies defeated. Hannibal, sixteen years victorious, is in vain called home, and cannot defend his country: Scipio gives law to it; the name of Africanus is his reward. The Roman people having humbled the Gauls and Africans, see nothing more to fear, and henceforth make war with hazard.

A. R.
214. 540.
212. 542.
211. 543.
210. 544.
208. 546.
206. 548.
203. 551.
202. 552.

In the middle of the first Punic war, Theodotus, governor of Bactria, withdrew a thousand cities from the obedience of Antiochus, surnamed Theus, son of Antiochus Soter king of Syria. Almost all the East followed this example. The Parthians revolted under the conduct of Arsaces, chief of the house of the Arsacidæ, and founder of an empire, which extended by degrees over all the upper Asia.

250. 504.

The kings of Syria and Egypt, bloodily set against each other, meditated nothing but mutual destruction, either by force or fraud. Damascus and its territory, called Celo-Syria, which was frontier to both king-

A. C. doms, was the subject of their quarrels, and the affairs of Asia were entirely distinct from those of Europe. A. R.

During all these times philosophy flourished in Greece. The Italic and Ionic sects stored it with great men, among whom crept in a number of extravagants, whom, however, Greece, fond of novelty, honoured with the name of Philosophers. In the time of Cyrus and Cambyses, Pythagoras commenced the Italic sect in great Greece, in the neighbourhood of Naples. Much about the same time Thales the Milesian formed the Ionic sect. Thence sprung those great philosophers, Heraclitus, Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides; Anaxagoras, who a little before the Peloponnesian war, demonstrated the world framed by an eternal spirit; Socrates, who a little after brought back philosophy to the study of good manners, and was the parent of moral philosophy; Plato his disciple, head of the academy; Aristotle, Plato's scholar, and preceptor to Alexander, chief of the Peripatetics; under Alexander's successors, Zeno, called the Cittian, from a town in the isle of Cyprus, where he was born, chief of the Stoics; and Epicurus the Athenian, head of the philosophers named after him: if, indeed, we may stile those men philosophers who openly denied a providence, and quite ignorant of moral duty, defined virtue by pleasure. We may reckon among the greatest philosophers Hippocrates, the father of physic, who shone amidst the rest in those happy days of Greece. The Romans had at the same time another kind of philosophy, which did by no means consist in disputations, and discourses; but in frugality, in poverty, in the labours of a rural life, and in the toils of war, they placing their glory in that of their country, and of the Roman name: which at length rendered them masters of Italy and Carthage.

IX. Epoch. Scipio, or the conquest of Carthage.

In the 552d year from the foundation of Rome, about 250 years after the Persian monarchy, and 202 before Jesus Christ, Carthage was subjected to the Romans.

202. Hannibal, however, continued to raise them up ene- 552

A. C. mies under-hand, wherever he could: but he did only draw all his friends, both old and new, into the ruin of his country and his own. By the victories of the
196. consul Flaminius, Philip king of Macedon, an ally of
196. the Carthaginians, was humbled, the other kings of Macedon brought low, and Greece freed from their yoke. The Romans attempted to procure the death of Hannibal, whom they found still formidable, even
195. after his overthrow. That great captain, forced to fly his country, stirred up the East against them, and drew their arms into Asia. Through his powerful persua-
193. sions, Antiochus, surnamed Magnus, king of Syria, became jealous of their power, and made war upon them: but in carrying it on he did not follow the counsels of Hannibal, who had engaged him in it. Beat by sea and land, he received the terms imposed on him by the consul Lucius Scipio, brother of Sci-
192. pio Africanus, and was confined to mount Taurus. Hannibal having fled for refuge to Prusias king of Bithynia, escaped the hands of the Romans by poison. They were now dreaded all over the earth, and will no longer suffer any other power but theirs. Kings were obliged to give them their children as hostages of their fidelity. Antiochus, afterwards called Illustris, or Epiphanes, second son of Antiochus Magnus, king of Syria, remained a long time at Rome in that quality: but about the end of the reign of Se-
176. leucus Philopator, his elder brother, he was restored;
175. and the Romans would have in his stead, Demetrius Soter the king's son, then ten years of age. In this critical juncture Seleucus died; and Antiochus usurped the kingdom of his nephew. The Romans were intent upon the affairs of Macedon, where Perseus was disturbing his neighbours, and would no longer stand to the conditions imposed on his father
173. king Philip. Then begun the persecutions of the people of God. Antiochus Illustris reigned like a madman: he bent all his fury against the Jews, and attempted to destroy the temple, the law of Moses, and

A. Be
558.
559.
561.
572.
579.
579.
581.

A. C. the whole nation. The authority of the Romans A. R.
171. kept him from making himself master of Egypt. 583.
They made war upon Perseus, who being readier to undertake than to execute, lost his allies by his covet-
168. ousness, and his armies by his cowardice. Van- 586.
quished by the consul Paulus Æmilius, he was forced to surrender himself into his hands. Gentius king of Illyria his ally, reduced in thirty days by the Pretor Anicius, had just met with a like fate. The kingdom of Macedon, which had stood seven hundred years, and had near two hundred given masters, not only to Greece, but even to the whole East, was now no more than a Roman province. The fury of Antiochus increased against God's people. Then do we see, the noble stand made by Mattathias the priest, of the race
167. of Phinehas and imitator of his zeal; the injunctions 587.
166. he gives on his death-bed for the safety of his people; 588.
the victories of Judas Maccabeus his son, notwithstanding the infinite number of his enemies; the rise of the family of the Asmoneans, or Maccabees; the
165. new dedication of the temple, which the Gentiles had 589.
164. profaned, the pontificate of Judas, and the glory of 590.
the priesthood restored; the death of Antiochus befitting his impiety and pride; he feigned conversion during his last illness, and the unappeased wrath of God upon the haughty king. His son Antiochus Eupator, yet a minor, succeeded him, under the guardianship of Lysias his governor. During this minority, Demetrius Soter, who was at Rome as an hostage, thought he might get himself restored; but he could not prevail with the senate to send him back into his
163. kingdom: the Roman policy chose rather an infant 591.
king. Under Antiochus Eupator the persecution of
162. God's people, and the victories of Judas Maccabeus 592.
continue. Division takes place in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius makes his escape from Rome; his people acknowledge him; the young Antiochus is put to death with Lysias his tutor. But the Jews are no better treated under Demetrius, than they were un-

A. C. der his predecessors; and he meets with the same A. D
fortune; his generals are beat by Judas Maccabeus;
and the hand of the haughty Nicanor, which he had so
often stretched out against the temple, is hung up be-
161. fore it. But not long after, Judas, overpowered by 593
numbers, was slain fighting with astonishing bravery.
His brother Jonathan succeeds to his command, and
supports his reputation. Though reduced to extrem-
ity, his courage never failed him. The Romans, fond
to humble the kings of Syria, granted the Jews their
protection, as also the alliance which Judas had sent
to request of them, yet without any succours: how-
ever, the glory of the Roman name proved no small sup-
154. port to the distressed people. The troubles of Syria 600
increased daily. Alexander Balas, who boasted him-
self the son of Antiochus Illustris, was placed upon the
throne by the people of Antioch. The kings of
Egypt, perpetual foes to Syria, fomented its divisions,
in order to profit by them. Ptolemy Philometor sup-
150. ported Balas; the war was bloody; Demetrius So- 603
ter was killed in it, and left to revenge his death, only
two young princes, yet under age, Demetrius Nicator,
and Antiochus Sidetes. Thus the usurper remained
in peaceable possession, and the king of Egypt gave
him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. Balas, now
fancying himself beyond all danger, plunged into de-
150. bauchery, and drew upon himself the contempt of all 604
2 Mac. vi. 2. his subjects. At this time Philometor judged the fa-
mous process, which the Samaritans raised against the
Jews. Those schismatics, ever set against the people
of God, never failed to join their enemies; and in or-
der to please Antiochus Illustris their persecutor, Jos. Ant. xii. 7.
167. had dedicated their temple on mount Gerizim to Jupi- 587
ter Hospitalis. Notwithstanding this profanation, those
impious wretches had the boldness, sometime after, to
maintain, before Ptolemy Philometer at Alexandria,
That this temple ought to be preferred to that of Je-
rusalem. The parties debated it before the king, and

R. A. engaged on both sides, upon pain of death to make A. C.
good their pretensions, from the express terms of the Jos. Ant. lib. xiii. c. 6.
law of Moses. The Jews gained their cause, and the Samaritans were punished with death, according to agreement. The same king gave permission to Onias, Ibid.
of the priestly race, to build in Egypt the temple of Helopilis, after the model of that of Jerusalem: an undertaking which was condemned by the whole council of the Jews, and judged contrary to the law. In the meantime Carthage was bestirring herself again, being unable to bear the laws which Scipio Africanus had imposed on her. The Romans resolved her
148. total overthrow, and the third Punic war was undertaken. 609.
Young Demetrius Nicator, now past childhood, began to think of recovering the throne of his ancestors; and the softness of the usurper gave him every
146. thing to hope. Balas was troubled at his approach: his 608.
father-in-law Philometor declared against him, because Balas would not suffer him to seize upon his kingdom: the ambitious Cleopatra his wife forsook him, to marry his enemy, and he was cut off by the hand of his own people, after the loss of a battle. Philometor died a few days after, of the wounds he there received, and Syria was delivered from both her enemies. The world saw at that same time the fall of two great cities. Carthage was taken, and reduced to ashes by Scipio Æmilianus, who, by that victory, confirmed the surname of Africanus in his family, and approved himself the worthy heir of the great Scipio his grandfather. Corinth shared the same fate, and the Achean republic perished with it. The consul Mummius razed to the ground that city, the most voluptuous, and most adorned in Greece. He transported its incomparable statues to Rome, without knowing the value of them. The Romans were ignorant of the arts of Greece, and contented themselves with the knowledge of war, politics, and agriculture. During the troubles of Syria the Jews fortified themselves: Jonathan was courted by both parties, and Nicator, victorious, treated him

A. C. as his brother. His kindness was soon requited: for A. R.
144. in a sedition, the Jews coming speedily to his aid, de- 610.
livered him out of the hands of the rebels. Jonathan was loaded with honours; but when once the king thought himself secure, he resumed the design of his ancestors, and the Jews were harrassed as formerly. The troubles of Syria broke out afresh: Diodorus, surnamed Tryphon, brought up a son of Balas, whom he named Antiochus Theus, and served him for a guardian during his minority. The pride of Demetrius caused an insurrection against him; all Syria
143. was in a flame: Jonathan knew how to improve the 611.
conjuncture, and renewed his alliance with the Romans. Every thing was prospering with him, when Tryphon, by a breach of faith, caused him to be slain with his children. His brother Simon, the most prudent and fortunate of the Maccabees, succeeded him; and the Romans patronized him, as they had done his predecessors. Tryphon was no less treacherous to his ward Antiochus, than he had been to Jonathan. He put the youth to death by the means of physicians, upon pretence of causing him to be cut for the stone, which he had not, and made himself master of a part of the kingdom. Simon took the side of Demetrius Nicator the lawful king, and after having obtained of him the liberty of his country, he maintained it by force of arms against the rebel Tryphon. The Syrians were driven out of the citadel, which they held in Jerusalem, and afterwards out of all the strong hold in Judea.

142. The Jews, thus freed from the yoke of the Gentiles 612.
by the valour of Simon, vested the royal powers in him, and his family: and Demetrius Nicator consented to this new establishment. There begins the new kingdom of God's people, and the principality of the Asmoneans ever joined to the high priesthood. In those days the empire of the Parthians was extended over Bactria and the Indies by the victories of Mithridates,
141. the most valiant of the Arsacidæ. While he was ad- 613.

A. C. vancing towards the Euphrates, Demetrius Nicator, A. R.
invited by the people of the country, whom Mithridates had subjected, hoped to reduce the Parthians, whom the Syrians treated always as rebels. He gained several victories; and as he was about to return into Syria, in order to overthrow Tryphon, he fell into a snare, which one of the generals of Mithridates had laid for him; and so remained prisoner with the Parthians. Tryphon, who thought himself secured by that prince's misfortune, found himself all at once
164. abandoned by his own people. They could no longer 614
suffer his pride. During the captivity of Demetrius their lawful sovereign, they entered into the service of his consort Cleopatra and her children; but a guardian and defender was to be sought for the young princes, who were not yet of age. The care naturally devolved upon Antiochus Sidetes, brother to Demetrius; Cleopatra caused him to be acknowledged all over the kingdom: nay, she did more. Phraates, brother and successor to Mithridates, treated Nicator as a king, and gave him his daughter Rodogune in marriage. Out of spite to this rival, Cleopatra, whom she deprived of the crown, together with her husband, espoused Antiochus Sidetes; and resolved to reign by all man-
139. ner of wickedness. The new king attacked Tryphon: 615
Simon joined him in the enterprise, and the tyrant forced out of all his strong holds, came to a condign
135. end. Antiochus, now master of the kingdom, very 619
soon forgot the services Simon had done him in his late war, and caused him to be treacherously murdered. Whilst he was collecting all the forces of Syria against the Jews, Joannes Hyrcanus, son of Simon, succeeded to his father's pontificate, and all the people submitted to him. He held out the siege of Jerusalem with much bravery, and the war, which Antiochus meditated against the Parthians, to deliver his captive brother, made him grant the Jews tolerable conditions. At the same time that this peace was concluded, the Romans, who were beginning to grow

A. C. too rich, found formidable enemies in the prodigious A. R.
multitude of their slaves. Ennus, a slave himself, raised an insurrection of them in Sicily; and it took the
133. whole Roman power to reduce them. A little after, 621.
the succession of Attalus king of Pergamus, who by his will made the Roman people his heir, threw the city into division. The troubles of the Gracchi commenced. The seditious tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus, one of the first men in Rome, became his destruction: the whole senate put him to death by the hand of Scipio Nasica, finding no other means to prevent the dangerous distribution of money, with which that eloquent tribune flattered the people. Scipio Æmilianus restored military discipline, and that great man, who had destroyed Carthage, demolished also
132. Numantia in Spain, the second terror of the Romans. 622.
The Parthians proved too weak for Sidetes; his troops, though corrupted by an excessive luxury, had a surprising success. Joannes Hyrcanus, who had attended him in that war with his Jews, signalised his valour in it, and gained honour to the Jewish religion, when the army halted to afford him leisure to celebrate the sabbath-day. Every thing yielded, and Phraates saw his empire reduced to its ancient limits; but, far from despairing of his affairs, he thought his prisoner might be of use towards his retrieving them, and invading Syria. In this conjuncture Demetrius experienced a very capricious fortune. He was often released, and as often detained, according as hope or fear got the ascendant in the mind of his father-in-law; at last a happy moment, in which Phraates saw no resource but in the diversion he proposed to make in Syria, by
130. his means, set him quite at liberty. That instant the 624.
scale turned. Sidetes, who could not otherwise support his extravagant expenses, than by intolerable rapines and extortions, was overwhelmed all at once by a general insurrection of the people, and perished with his army, which had been so oft victorious. In vain did Phraates send with all speed after Demetrius: it

A. C. was now too late: that prince had got back into his kingdom. His wife Cleopatra, who wanted only to reign at any rate, returned quickly with him, and Rodogune was soon forgot. Hyrcanus improved the juncture: he took Sichem from the Samaritans, and utterly demolished the temple of Gerizim, two hundred years after it had been built by Sanballat. Its destruction did not hinder the Samaritans from continuing their worship in that mountain, and the two na- A. R.
129. tions remained irreconcilable. The year after, all 625
Idumea, united by the victories of Hyrcanus to the kingdom of Judea, received the law of Moses with circumcision. The Romans continued their protec-
128. tion to Hyrcanus, and caused the cities to be restored, 626
which the Syrians had taken from him. The pride and violence of Demetrius Nicator suffered not Syria to enjoy long tranquillity. The people revolted. To
127. cherish their revolt, Egypt, their enemy, gave them a 627
king; Alexander Zabina son of Balas. Demetrius was beaten, and Cleopatra, thinking to reign more ab-
126. solutely under her children, than under her husband, 628
brought him to a miserable end. No better did she
125. serve her eldest son Seleucus, who had a mind to reign 629
in spite of her. Her second son Antiochus, called Grypus, was just returned victorious from the defeat of
124. the rebels, when Cleopatra presented to him in form 630
the poisoned cup, which, her son warned of her pernicious designs, forced herself to swallow. She died, and left an eternal bone of contention between the children she had had by the two brothers, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Syria thus distracted, was no longer in condition of disturbing the Jews.
109. Joannes Hyrcanus took Samaria, but could not con- 645
vert the Samaritans. He died five years after, and Judea remained in the peaceable possession of his two
104. sons, Aristobulus, and Alexander Janneus; who reign- 650
103. ed, one after the other, unmolested by the kings of 651
Syria. The Romans suffered that rich kingdom to waste away of itself, and extended their dominion

A. C. westward. During the wars of Demetrius Nicator A. R
125. and Zebina, they began to extend their domain beyond 628.
124. the Alps; and Sextius, having conquered the Gauls, 630.
named Salii, established in the city of Aix a colony,
which bears his name to this day. The Gauls made
123. but a sorry defence. Fabius subdued the Allobroges, 631.
121. and all the neighbouring nations; and the same year 633.
that Grypus caused his mother to drink the poison she
had prepared for him, Gallia Narbonensis, reduced in-
to a province, received the name of a Roman province.
Thus the Roman empire grew in greatness, and gra-
dually possessed itself of all the lands and seas of the
then known world. But as fair as the face of the re-
public seemed outwardly by its conquests, so disfigur-
ed was it by the inordinate ambition of its citizens,
and by its intestine broils. The most illustrious of the
Romans became the most pernicious to the public
weal. The two Gracchi, by flattering the people, be-
gun divisions, which did not end but with the common-
wealth. Caius, brother of Tiberius, could not brook
their having put to death so great a man, in so tragical
a manner. Animated to vengeance by impulses, which
were thought inspired by the ghost of Tiberius, he
armed all the citizens against one another, and as he
119. was upon the point of destroying the whole, he was 635.
114. cut off by a death like to that he meant to revenge. 640.
113. Money did every thing at Rome. Jugurtha king of 641.
Numidia, stained with the murder of his brothers,
whom the Roman people protected, defended himself
106. longer by his largesses than by his arms; and Marius, 648.
who completed his overthrow, could not arrive at the
105. command, but by spiriting up the people against the 651.
nobles. The slaves took up arms once more in Sicily;
and their second revolt cost the Romans no less blood
102. than the first. Marius beat the Teutons, Cimbrians, 652.
and other northern nations, who were penetrating into
100. the Gauls, into Spain, and into Italy. The victories 654.
he obtained over them were an occasion of proposing
a new distribution of lands. Metellus, who opposed

C. it, was forced to give way to the juncture, nor were A. R.
the divisions extinguished but by the blood of Saturnius, a tribune of the people. Whilst Rome protect-
94. ed Cappadocia against Mithridates king of Pontus, 660.
88. and so great a foe yielded to the Roman force, with 666.
86. Greece, which had espoused his interest; Italy, long 668.
91. exercised in arms by so many wars, maintained either 663.
against, or with the Romans endangered their empire by an universal revolt. Rome felt herself at the same
88. time torn by the furious animosities of Marius and Syl- 668.
7. & foll. la, one of whom had made both the south and north 667. & foll.
to tremble, and the other was the conqueror of Greece and Asia. Sylla, who was styled the fortunate, was too
82. much so against his country, which his tyrannical dic- 672.
79. tatorship brought into servitude. He might well lay 675.
voluntarily down the sovereign power, but he could not hinder the effect of bad example. Every one would
be master. Sertorious, a zealous partisan of Marius,
74. cantoned himself in Spain, and entered into a league, 680.
73. with Mithridates. Against so great a captain, force 681.
was of no avail; and Pompey could find no way of reducing that party but by sowing division in it. Not
even Spartacus the gladiator, but thought he might aspire to the chief command. That slave caused no
71. less trouble to the pretors and consuls, than Mithri- 683.
dates was creating to Lucullus. The war of the gladiators became formidable to the Roman power.
Crassus finding difficulty to put an end to it, the great Pompey behoved to be sent against them. Lucullus
68. was getting the better in the east. The Romans pass- 686.
ed the Euphrates; but their general, invincible against the enemy, could not keep his own soldiers in their
duty. Mithridates, often beat, but never losing courage, was recruiting his force, and Pompey's good fortune seemed necessary to put a happy termination to
67. the war. He was just come from scouring the seas of 687.
the pirates, that infested them from Syria as far as the pillars of Hercules, when he was sent against Mithridates. His glory appeared then at its height. He to-

A. C. tally subjected that valiant king, and Armenia, whither A.
65. he had fled for refuge; Iberia and Albania, which sup- 65
63. ported him; Syria torn by its factions; Judea, where 63
the division of the Asmoneans left Hyrcanus II. the son of Alexander Janneus but a shadow of power; and, in short, the whole east. But he had not had where to triumph over so many enemies, but for the consul Cicero, who saved the city from the flames that were preparing for it by Catiline, backed by the most illustrious of the Roman nobility. That formidable party was ruined by Cicero's eloquence, rather than the arms of C. Antonius his colleague. The liberty of the Roman people was nothing the more secure. Pompey reigned in the senate, and his great name made
58. him absolute master of all deliberations. Julius Ce- 58
& foll. sar, by subduing the Gauls, gained his country the & foll.
most useful conquest it had ever made. So signal a service enabled him to establish his dominion in his country. He wanted first to equal, and then to surpass Pompey. Crassus's immense riches made him fancy he might share the glory of these two great
54. men, as he did their authority. He rashly undertook 54
the war against the Parthians, which proved fatal to
53. himself and to his country. The Arsacidæ victorious, 53
insulted with cruel railleries, the ambition of the Romans, and the insatiable avarice of their general. But the disgrace of the Roman name was not the worst effect of Crassus's overthrow. His power counterbalanced that of Pompey and Cesar, whom he kept uni-
49. ted, as it were, against their will. By his death, the 49
mound, that confined them, was broke down. The two rivals, who had all the forces of the common-
48. wealth in their hands, decided their quarrel at Phar- 48
47. salia, by a bloody battle: Cesar, victorious, appeared 47
46. in a moment all over the world; in Egypt, in Asia, in 46
45. Mauritania, in Spain; conqueror on all sides, he was 45
44. acknowledged master at Rome, and in the whole em- 44
43. pire. Brutus and Cassius thought to set their fellow- 43
citizens free by murdering him as a tyrant, notwith-

C. standing his clemency. Rome fell again into the hands A. R.
of Mark Antony, Lepidus, and the young Cesar Octavianus, grand nephew to Julius Cesar, and his adopt-
12. ed son; three insupportable tyrants, whose triumvi- 712.
rate and proscriptions cannot yet be read without horror. But they were too violent to last long. These three persons divide the empire among them. Cesar keeps Italy; and changing instantly his former cruelties into mildness, he makes it believed that he was drawn into them by his colleagues. The remains
16. of the commonwealth perish with Brutus and Cassius. 718.
12. Antony and Cesar, after ruining Lepidus, fall next up- 722.
on each other. The whole Roman power puts to sea.
31. Cesar wins the battle of Actium: the forces of Egypt, 723.
and of the east, which Antony brought with him, are dispersed; all his friends abandon him, and even his Cleopatra, for whom he had lost the world. Herod the Idumean, who owed every thing to him, is forced
10. to submit to the victor, and maintains himself, by this 724.
means, in possession of the kingdom of Judea, which the weakness of old Hyrcanus had entirely lost to the Asmoneans. Every thing yields to Cesar's fortune: Alexandria opens her gates to him: Egypt becomes a Roman province: Cleopatra, despairing of being able to preserve it, kills herself after Antony: Rome stretches out her arms to Cesar, who, under the name
27. of Augustus, and title of emperor, remains sole mas- 727.
ter of the empire. He subdues, towards the Pyrenees, the revolted Cantabrians and Asturians; Ethiopia sues
24. for peace: the Parthians, in fear, send him back the 730.
22. standards taken from Crassus, together with all the 732.
20. Roman prisoners; the Indies court his alliance; the 734.
15. Rheti, or Grisons, feel the force of his arms; their 738.
12. 742.
7. mountains cannot defend them; Pannonia acknow- 747.
ledges him: Germany dreads him; and the Weser receives his laws. Victorious by sea and land, he
shuts the temple of Janus. The whole earth lives in 753.
peace under his power, and JESUS CHRIST comes into 754.
the world.

X. Epoch. The birth of Jesus Christ, and last age of the world.

Now are we at length arrived at those times, so much desired by our fathers, those of the coming of the Messiah. This name signifies the CHRIST, or the Lord's anointed; and JESUS CHRIST deserves it as priest, as king, and as prophet. It is not agreed what precise year he came into the world; but it is allowed that his true birth some years precedes our vulgar era, which however, we shall follow, with all others for the more conveniency. Without disputing farther about the year of our Lord's birth, it is sufficient that we know it happened about the 4000th year of the world. Some place it a little before, some a little after, and others precisely in that year; a diversity proceeding as much from the uncertainty of the years of the world, as of that of the birth of our Lord. Be that how it will, it was about this time, 1000 years after the dedication of the temple, and the 754th year of Rome, that JESUS CHRIST, the eternal son of God, and temporal son of Abraham and David, was born of a virgin.

This epoch is the most considerable of all, not only for the importance of so great an event, but also because it is that from whence Christians have, these many ages, begun the computation of their years. It has besides this remarkable in it, that it pretty nearly coincides with the time, in which Rome returns to a state of monarchy, under the peaceful empire of Augustus. All the arts flourished in his time, and Latin poetry was carried to its last perfection by Virgil and Horace, whom that prince encouraged, not only by his favours, but also by indulging them a free access to his presence. The birth of Jesus Christ was quickly followed by the death of Herod. His kingdom was divided among his children; but the principal share was not long of falling into the hands of the Romans.

8. 14. Augustus ended his reign with great glory. Tiberius, whom he had adopted, succeeded him without opposition; and the empire was acknowledged hereditary in the house of the Cesars. Rome had much to suffer from

the cruel policy of Tiberius: the rest of the empire A. D.
was tolerably quiet. Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius,
pacified the rebel armies, refused the empire, beat the
proud Arminius, pushed his conquests as far as the 16. 17.
Elbe; and having attracted, together with the love of 19. 28.
those people, the jealousy of his uncle, that barbarian 30.
occasioned his death, either by grief or poison. In
the fifteenth year of Tiberius, St. John Baptist ap-
pears: Jesus Christ receives baptism from that divine
harbinger: the eternal father acknowledges his well-
beloved son by a voice from heaven: the Holy Ghost
descends upon the Saviour, under the harmless figure
of a dove: the whole trinity manifest itself. There Dan.
begins, with the seventieth week of Daniel, the preach- ix. 27.
ing of Jesus Christ. This last week was the most im-
portant, and the most noted. Daniel had distinguish-
ed it from the rest, as the week, wherein the cove-
nant was to be confirmed, and in the middle of which
the old sacrifices were to lose their efficacy. We may
call it the week of mysteries. In it Jesus Christ es-
tablishes his mission and doctrine, by numberless mi-
racles, and afterwards by his death. This happened
in the fourth year of his ministry, which was also the
fourth year of the last week of Daniel; and after this
manner is that great week found exactly intersected
by the suffering of our Saviour.

Thus the computation of the weeks is easy to be made, or rather is done already. We have only to add to 453 years, which will be found from the 300th year of Rome, and 20th of Artaxerxes, to the beginning of the vulgar era, the 30 years of that era which we see come down to the 15th year of Tiberius, and the baptism of our Lord; these two sums will make 483 years: of the seven years which yet remain to complete 490, the fourth, which makes the middle one, is that in which Jesus Christ died: and all that Daniel prophesied, is visibly contained within the term prescribed. There would even have been no necessity for so much exactness, nor does any thing oblige

A. D. us to take in so strict a sense the middle marked by Daniel. The most difficult would be contented with finding it in any point between the two extremes. This I take notice of, that those, who may think they have reason to place a little higher, or a little lower, the beginning of Artaxerxes's reign, or, the death of our Lord, may not straiten themselves in their calculation, and that those who would attempt to embarrass a thing clear, by the quibbles of chronology, may lay aside their fruitless subtlety.

Matth. xxvii. 45. Phleg 13. Olymp. Thal. Hist. 3 Tertull. Apol. 21. Orig. 2. cont. Cels. & Tr. 35. in Matth. Euseb. & Hieron in Coron. Jul. Afric. Ibid. The darkness which covered the whole face of the earth at noon day, and at the moment of Jesus Christ's crucifixion, is taken for an ordinary eclipse by heathen writers who have mentioned that memorable event. But the primitive Christians, who spoke of it to the Romans as a prodigy, recorded not only by their own authors, but even by the public registers, have shown, that neither at the time of the full moon, when Jesus Christ died, nor in the whole year, in which that eclipse was observed, could any one have happened, that was not supernatural. We have the very words of Phlegon, Hadrian's Freedman, quoted at a time, when his book was in every body's hands; as well as the Syriac histories of Thallus, who followed him; and the fourth year of the 202d Olympiad, marked in Phlegon's annals, is that of the death of our Lord.

To complete the mysteries, Jesus Christ rises from the grave the third day; he appears to his disciples; he ascends into heaven in their presence; he sends them the holy ghost; the church is formed; persecution commences; St. Stephen is stoned; St. Paul is converted. A little after Tiberius dies. Caligula his grand nephew, his son by adoption, and his sucessor, astonishes the world with his cruel and brutal folly: he claims adoration, and commands his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem. Chereas rids the world of this monster. Claudius reigns notwithstanding his stupidity. He is dishonoured by Messalina his wife, whom he demands back, after causing her to be

37.
40.
49.

put to death. He is next married to Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus. The apostles hold the council of Jerusalem, in which St. Peter speaks first, as he does every where else. The converted gentiles are there freed from the ceremonies of the law. The sentence is pronounced in the name of the Holy Ghost, and of the church. St. Paul and St. Barnabas carry the decree of the council to the churches, and teach the faithful to submit to it. Such was the form of the first council. The stupid emperor disinherited Britannicus, and adopted Nero the son of Agrippina. She, in return, poisoned her too easy husband. But her son's government proved no less fatal to herself, than to all the rest of the empire. Corbulo gained all the honour of this reign by the victories he won over the Parthians and Armenians. Nero commenced at once the war against the Jews, and the persecution against the Christians. He was the first emperor who persecuted the church. He caused St. Peter and St. Paul to be put to death at Rome. But as he at the same time persecuted all mankind, they revolted against him on all sides. Understanding that the senate had condemned him, he laid violent hands on himself. Each army made an emperor: the dispute was decided hard by Rome, and in Rome itself, by dreadful engagements. Galba, Otho and Vittellius, all three perished in them: the distressed empire found some rest under Vespasian. But the Jews were reduced to the last extremity; Jerusalem was taken and burned. Titus, son and successor of Vespasian, afforded the world a short-lived joy; and his days, which he counted lost, when they were not distinguished by some good action, hurried on too fast to an end. And now we behold Nero revive in the person of Domitian. The persecution broke out afresh. St. John having got safe out of the boiling oil, was banished to the isle of Patmos, where he penned his Apocalypse or Revelation. A little after he wrote his gospel, at the age of 90, and joined the quality of an evangelist to that of

A. D. Acts xv. 6. Acts xvi. 4. 54. 58. 60. 62. 63. &c. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 79. 93.

A. D. 95. an apostle and prophet. From this time the Christians were continually persecuted, as well under the good, as bad emperors. These persecutions were carried on, sometimes by command of the emperors, and by the particular spite of the magistrates; sometimes by an insurrection of the people; and sometimes by solemn decrees pronounced in the senate upon the rescripts of princes, or in their presence. Then the persecution was more universal and bloody; and thus the malice of unbelievers, ever inveterately bent to destroy the church, was excited from time to time to new acts of fury. It is from these renewed fits of violence that ecclesiastical historians reckon ten persecutions under ten emperors. Under so long sufferings, the Christians never made the smallest sedition. Of all the faithful, the bishops were always the most severely attacked: of all the Christians, the church of Rome was persecuted with the greatest violence; and thirty popes sealed with their blood that gospel, which they
96. declared to the whole earth. Domitian is killed; the empire begins to enjoy some respite under Nerva. His great age does not permit him to retrieve the state
97. 98. of affairs: but in order to render the public tranquillity permanent, he makes choice of Trajan for his successor. The empire quiet at home, and triumphant abroad, cannot forbear admiring so good a prince. And indeed it was a maxim with him, that his citizens ought to find him such as he would have wished to find
102. 106. the emperor, had he been a private citizen. This
115. 116. prince subdued the Daci, and Decebalus their king; extended his conquests in the East; gave a king to the Parthians, and made them dread the Roman power; happy he whom drunkenness and infamous amours, vices so deplorable in a great prince, have never made to attempt any thing contrary to justice! To times so advantageous for the commonweal, succeeded those of Hadrian blended with good and evil. This prince maintained military discipline, lived himself in a soldiery way, and with much frugality, eased

the provinces, made the arts to flourish, and Greece, who was the mother of them. The barbarians were kept in awe by his arms and authority. He rebuilt Jerusalem, to which he gave his name, and from thence too it derives the name of Ælia; but he banished the Jews out of it, who were ever rebels to the empire. That stubborn race found in him a merciless avenger. He sullied by his cruelties, and monstrous loves, the lustre of so bright a reign. His infamous Antinous, of whom he made a god, throws shame upon his whole life. But the emperor seemed to make amends for his faults, and, in some degree, to retrieve his effaced glory, by adopting Antoninus Pius, who also adopted Marcus Aurelius the sage and philosopher. In these two princes appear two beautiful characters. The father, ever at peace, is always ready, upon occasion, to make war: the son, ever at war, is always ready to give peace, both to his enemies, and to the empire. His father Antoninus had taught him, that it was better to save one citizen than to defeat a thousand enemies. The Parthians and Marcomani experienced the valour of Marcus Aurelius; the latter were Germans, to whom the emperor was giving the finishing stroke, when he died. By the virtue of the two Antonines, that name became the darling of the Romans. The glory of so illustrious a name was not defaced, by all the effeminacy of Lucius Verus, brother to Marcus Aurelius, and his partner in the empire, nor yet by the brutalities of Commodus his son and successor. This last, unworthy of such a father forgot both his instructions and example. The senate and people abhorred him: his most assiduous minions, and his mistress put him to death. His successor Pertinax, a vigorous asserter of military discipline, fell a sacrifice to the fury of the licentious soldiers who had, but a little before, forced the sovereign power upon him.

A. D. 120. 123. 126. 127. 130. 134. 135. 138. 139. 161. 162. 169. 180. 192. 193. 194. 195. 198. &c.

The empire exposed to auction, found a purchaser. The lawyer Didius Julianus ventured upon this bold bargain: but it cost him his life. Severus Africanus

A.D. put him to death, revenged Pertinax, passed from the
207. east to the west, triumphed in Syria, Gaul, and Great-
208. Britain. The rapid conqueror equalled Cesar by his
211. victories: but imitated not his clemency. He was not
212. able to make peace among his own children. Bassian, or Caracalla, his eldest son, a false imitator of Alexander, immediately upon his father's death, murdered his brother Geta, who was emperor as well as himself, in the arms of Julia their common mother; spent his life in cruelty and carnage, and brought himself to a tragical end. Severus had gained him the hearts of the soldiers and people, by giving him the name of Antoninus; but he could not support the glory of it.
218. The Syrian, Heliogabalus, or rather Alagabalus, his son, or at least reputed such though the name of Antoninus had given him at first the hearts of the soldiers and victory over Macrinus, he became presently after by his infamous conduct, the horror of mankind, and
222. destroyed himself. Alexander Severus, son of Mameus, his cousin and successor, lived too short while for the good of the world. He complained, that he had more difficulty in restraining his soldiers, than in con-
235. quering his enemies. His mother who governed him, was the cause of his ruin, as she had been of his glo-
233. ry. Under his reign, Artaxerxes the Persian killed his master Artabanus, the last king of the Parthians, and restored the empire of the Persians in the east.

Tertull. adv. Ju. 7. Apol. 67. In these times the yet infant church was filling the whole earth, and not only the east, where she had taken her rise, that is, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece; but also in the west, besides Italy, the several nations of the Gauls, all the provinces of Spain, Afric, Germany, Great Britain in places impenetrable to the Roman arms; and was even gaining ground without the Empire, in Armenia, Persia, the Indies, among the most barbarous nations, the Sarmatians, Dacians, Scythians, Getulians, and as far as the most unknown isles. The blood of her martyrs
107. rendered her fruitful. Under Trajan, St. Ignatius,

bishop of Antioch, was exposed to wild beasts. Marcus Aurelius, unhappily prepossessed with the calumnies with which christianity was charged, put to death Justin the philosopher, and apologist for the Christian religion. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, St. John's disciple, at the age of fourscore, was condemned to the stake under the same prince. The holy martyr of Lions and Vienne endured unheard of torments, after the example of Photin their bishop, a man of ninety years. The Gallican church filled the whole world with its glory. St. Ireneus, disciple of St. Polycarp, and St. Photin's successor, imitated his predecessor, and died a martyr under Severus, with a great number of the faithful of his church. Sometimes the persecution abated. Marcus Aurelius happening once in Germany to be in extreme want of water, a christian legion, obtained a rain sufficient to quench the thirst of his army, accompanied with peals of thunder, which struck terror into his enemies. The name of *Thunderer* was given or confirmed to that legion by this miracle. The emperor was touched with it, and wrote to the Senate in favour of the christians. But at last his soothsayers persuaded him to attribute to his gods, and to his prayers, a miracle, which the pagans did not so much as dream of desiring. Other causes suspended or assuaged sometimes the persecution, for a while; but superstition, a vice, which Marcus Aurelius could not avoid, the public hatred, and the calumnies cast upon the christians, still too quickly prevailed again: the fury of the heathens rekindled, and the whole empire streamed with the blood of martyrs. The doctrine went along with the sufferings. Under Severus, and a little after, Tertullian, a priest of Carthage, enlightened the church by his writings, defended it by an admirable apology, and deserted it at last, being blinded by an overweening austerity, and seduced by the vision of the false prophet Montanus. Much about the same time the pious priest Clemens Alexandrinus laid open the iniquities

A. D.
163.
167.
177.
202.
174.
213.

A. D. of Paganism, in order to confute him. Origen, son of the holy martyr Leonidus, rendered himself celebrated throughout the whole church from his youth and taught great truths, though mixed with abundance of errors. The philosopher Ammonius made the Platonic philosophy subservient to religion, and won himself the respect of the heathens themselves. Mean while the Valentinians and Gnostics, and other impi-
Iren. lib. iii. c. 2. 3. ous sects attack the gospel by false traditions. St. Ireneus opposes to them the tradition and authority of the apostolical churches, especially that of Rome the chief, founded by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.
De præsc. adv. Hær. c. 36. Tertullian does the same. The church is neither shaken by heresies, nor by schisms, nor by the fall of her most eminent doctors. Her sanctity of manners is so conspicuous, that it commands the praise of her enemies.

The affairs of the empire were embroiled in a terri-
235. ble manner. After the death of Alexander, the tyrant Maximine, who had killed him, made himself master,
236. 237. though of Gothic race. The senate set up four em-
238. perors in opposition to him, who were all cut off in less than two years. Among these were the two Gordians, elder and younger, favourites of the people of Rome.
242. The young Gordian their son, though he, in the earliest years, discovered a consummate wisdom, had much ado to defend, against the Persians, the empire enfeebled by so many divisions. He had retaken from
244. them many important places. But Philippus Arabs killed that good prince; and for fear of being overpowered by two emperors, whom the senate elected one after the other, he clapped up a shameful peace
245. with Sapor king of Persia. This was the first of the the Romans, who gave up by treaty any of the empire's territories. He is said to have embraced the christian religion at a time, when all of a sudden he appeared reformed; and it is certain, that he was fa-
Euseb. lib. vi. 39. vorable to the christians. Out of hatred to this emperor, Decius who killed him, renewed the persecu-

tion with greater violence than ever. The church ex- A. D.
tended herself on all sides, but chiefly in the Gauls, 249.
and the empire very soon lost Decius, who vigorously Greg. Tur.
defended it. Gallus and Volusian passed away lib. 1. Hist.
very swiftly: Æmilian did no more than appear: the Franc.
chief power was given to Valerian; and that venerable 28. 251.
old man ascended to it through all the degrees of dig- 254.
nity. He was cruel to none but the christians. Un-
der him pope Stephen, and St. Cyprian, bishop of 257.
Carthage, notwithstanding all their disputes, which 258.
had made no breach of communion, received both of
them the same crown. St. Cyprian's error in reject- 256.
ing the baptism given by heretics, hurt neither himself
nor the church. The tradition of the holy see sup-
ported itself, by its own strength, against all the spe-
cious arguments and authority of so great a man, al-
though other great men defended the same doctrine.
Another dispute did more mischief. Sabellius con- 257.
founded the three divine persons together, and ac-
knowledged in the Deity only one person under three Euseb. Hist.
names. This innovation astonished the church, and Eccl. lib. vii.
Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, discovered to pope c. 6.
Sixtus II. the errors of that Heresiarch. This holy 259.
pope quickly followed in the road of martyrdom, Ste-
phen his predecessor: he had his head struck off, and
left a yet greater conflict to be maintained by his dea-
con St. Laurence. Then do we see begin the inunda- 259. 269.
tion of the barbarians. The Burgundians, and other 260.
people of Germany, and the Goths, formerly called
Getæ, poured into the empire; other nations, which
inhabited about the Euxine sea, and beyond the Dan-
ube, entered into Europe; the east was invaded by
the Asiatic Scythians, and the Persians. These de-
feated Valerian, whom they afterwards took in a
treacherous manner, and after letting him linger out
his days in a painful slavery, they slayed him, in order
to make his skin a monument of their victory. Galli- 261.
an, his son and colleague, utterly ruined all by his
softness. Thirty tyrants shared the empire. Odena- 264.

A. D. tus king of Palmyra, an ancient city, founded by Solomon, was the most illustrious. He rescued the eastern provinces out of the hands of the barbarians, and made himself acknowledged in them. His wife Zenobia marched with him at the head of his armies, which she commanded singly after his death, and rendered herself famous all over the earth, for having joined chastity with beauty, and conduct with cour-
268. 270. age. Claudius II. and Aurelian after him, retrieved
Eusеb. Hist. vii. c. 27, and seq. Alban. ad calc. Theod. lib. ii. hær. fab. Niceph. l. vi. c. 27. the affairs of the empire. Whilst they were overthrowing the Goths and Germans by signal victories, Zenobia preserved to her children the conquests of their father. That princess inclined to Judaism. In order to gain her over, Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, a vain and turbulent man, taught his Jewish opinion concerning the person of Jesus Christ, whom he made but a mere man. After long dissembling so new a doctrine, he was convicted and condemned at the council of Antioch. Queen Zenobia maintained
273. 274. the war against Aurelian, who thought it no scorn to triumph over so renowned a heroine. Amidst continual wars, he knew how to keep up the Roman discipline among his soldiers, and showed, that by following the ancient regulations, and the ancient frugality, great armies might be kept on foot, both at home and
Hist. Aug. Aurel. c. 7. Flo. c. 2. Pro. c. 11 & Firm. &c. c. 13. abroad, without being a charge to the empire. Then begun the Franks to grow formidable. These were a confederacy of German states, who dwelled along the Rhine. Their name speaks them united from the love of liberty. Aurelian had beat them, when a private person, and kept them in awe, when emperor. That
275. prince made himself hated by his bloody actions. His wrath too much dreaded occasioned his death. Those who thought themselves in hazard, resolved to be beforehand with him; and his secretary being threatened, put himself at the head of the combination. The army who saw him cut off by the conspiracy of so many chiefs, refused to choose an emperor, for fear of setting one of the Aurelian's assassins on the throne;

and the senate restored to its ancient right, elected A. D.
Tacitus. This new prince was venerable for his age,
and for his virtue: but he became odious through the
violence of a kinsman, to whom he gave the command
of the army, and perished with him in a sedition the
sixth month of his reign. Thus his promotion served 276.
only to shorten his days. His brother Florina claimed
the empire by right of succession, as being the near-
est heir. This right, however, was not acknowledged:
Florina was killed, and Probus forced by the soldiers
to accept the empire, though he threatened to keep
them in order. Every thing yielded under so great a
captain; the Germans and Franks, who attempted to 277. 278.
enter the Gauls, were repulsed; and in the east as 280.
well as west, all the barbarians reverenced the Ro-
man arms. So formidable a warrior aspired at peace,
and gave the empire to hope it should have no more
occasion for military men. The army revenged that in-
sinuation, and the strict regulations their emperor made 282.
them observe. The moment after, confounded at the
violence they had used to so great a prince; they hon-
oured his memory, and gave him for successor, Ca-
rus, who was no less zealous for discipline than him- 283.
self. This valiant prince revenged his predecessor,
and quelled the barbarians, to whom the death of Pro-
bus had given fresh courage. He marched into the
east to fight the Persians with Numerian his second
son, and sent against the northern enemies his eldest
son Carinus, whom he made Cesar. This was the se-
cond dignity, and next step to the empire. The
whole east trembled before Carus: Mesopotamia
submitted: the divided Persians could not resist him.
Whilst every thing gave way to him, heaven stopt his 284.
career by a flash of lightning. Numerian almost cried
his eyes out for him. What dire effects has the de-
sire of reigning upon the heart! His father-in-law
Aper, far from being touched with his distress, mur-
dered him; but Diocletian revenged his death, and 285.
arrived at length to the empire, which he had so ar-

A. D. dently desired. Carinus roused himself in spite of his softness, and beat Diocletian; but was slain in the pursuit by one of his own men, whose wife he had debauched. Thus the empire got rid of one of the most violent and most abandoned of all men. Diocletian governed with vigour, but with an insupport-
286. able vanity. In order to make head against so many enemies that were rising up against him on all sides, both at home and abroad, he named Maximian emperor with him; but took care, however, to preserve the chief authority to himself. Each emperor made
291. a Cesar. Constantius Chlorus and Galerius were raised to that high station. The four princes were hardly able to support the burden of so many wars. Diocletian fled to Rome, which he found too free, and settled at Nicomedia, where he obtained ad-
297. Euseb Hist. lib. viii. 13. Orat. Const. ad sanc. cœt. 25. Lact. de mort. Perf. c. 17. 18. oration, after the manner of the people of the east. Meanwhile the Persians, vanquished by Galerius, gave up to the Romans large provinces, and whole kingdoms. After so great successes, Galerius will no longer be a subject, and scorns the name of Cesar. He begins with intimidating Maximian. A long illness had sunk the spirit of Diocletian, and Galerius, though his son-in-law, forced him to quit the reins of empire. Maximian was obliged to follow his example. Thus the empire came into the hands of Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius; and two new Cesars, Severus and
304. Maximine, were created in their place by the deposed emperors. The Gauls, Spain, and Great Britain were happy, but too short while, under Constantius Chlorus. Being an enemy to extortion, and therefore accused of ruining the finances, he showed that he had immense treasures in the good will of his subjects. The rest of the empire suffered greatly under so many emperors and Cesars: officers multiplied with
Lact. Ibid. 24. princes: expenses and exactions were infinite. Young Constantine, son of Constantius Chlorus, began to distinguish himself: but he was in the hands of Galerius. That emperor, jealous of his rising glory, exposed him daily to new perils. He was obliged to fight wild

beasts by way of exercise: but Galerius was no less to be feared than they. Constantine having at length got out of his hands, found his father expiring. At this time Maxentius, son of Maximian, and son-in-law of Galerius, made himself emperor at Rome, in spite of his father-in-law; and intestine divisions were added to the other calamities of the state. The image of Constantine, who had just succeeded his father, being carried to Rome, according to custom, was rejected there by order of Maxentius. The receiving of the images was the usual form of acknowledging new princes. War is prepared for on all sides. The Cesar Severus, whom Galerius sent against Maxentius, made him tremble in the heart of Rome. In order to procure some comfort under his panic, he recalled his father Maximian. The ambitious old man quitted his retreat, where he was but with reluctance; and endeavoured, in vain, to draw Diocletian his colleague from the garden he cultivated at Salona. At the name of Maximian, a second time emperor, Severus's soldiers desert him. The old emperor causes him to be put to death; and at the same time, to strengthen himself against Galerius, he gives his daughter Fausta to Constantine. Galerius wanted also some support after the death of Severus: and this it was that made him resolve to name Licinius emperor. But this choice provoked Maximine, who, in the quality of Cesar, thought himself nearest the supreme dignity. Nothing could persuade him to submit to Licinius, and he rendered himself independent in the east.

A. D. 306. Lact. de mort. pers. c. 26. 27 307. Lact. ibid. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.

There remained scarce any thing to Galerius by Illyria, whither he had retired, when driven out of Italy. The rest of the West obeyed Maximian, his son Maxentius, and his son-in-law Constantine. But he did not choose his own son any more than strangers for partners in the empire. He endeavoured to drive his son Maxentius out of Rome, but was expelled by him. Constantine, who received him into the 310.

A. D. Gauls, found him no less perfidious. After various attempts, Maximian formed a final plot, in which he thought to have engaged his daughter Fausta against her husband. She deceived him; and Maximian, who fancied he had killed Constantine, by killing the eunuch they had put in his bed, was forced to lay violent hands on himself. A new war breaks out; and Maxentius, under pretext of revenging his father, declares against Constantine, who marches to Rome with his troops. At the same time, he causes the statues of Maximian to be thrown down: those of Diocletian, which stood next to them, shared the same fate. Diocletian's repose was disturbed by this piece of contempt, and he died some time after, as much of vexation as old age.

Lact. ibid. 42, 43. 312.

Euseb. viii. Hist. Eccl. 16. de vit. Const. i. 57.

In those times Rome, a constant enemy to Christianity, made a last effort to extinguish it, instead of which she completed its establishment. Galerius, marked by historians as the author of the last persecution, two years before he had obliged Diocletian to quit the empire, forced him to make that bloody edict, which commanded the Christians to be persecuted more violently than ever. Maximian, who hated them, and had never ceased tormenting them, spirited up the magistrates and executioners; but his violence, however excessive, did not equal that of Maximine and Galerius. New punishments were daily invented. The modesty of the Christian virgins was no less attacked than their faith. The strictest search was made for the sacred books, in order to abolish the very memory of them, and the Christians durst not have them in their houses, not almost presume to read them. Thus, after three hundred years persecution, the malice of the persecutors became still more inveterate. The Christians wearied them out by their patience. The people, touched with their holy life, turned converts in great numbers. Galerius despaired of being able to suppress them. Struck with an extraordinary disease, he revoked his edicts, and died the death of

Lact. de mort. pers. 9 & seq. 302.

311.

Antiochus, with as false a repentance. Maximine continued the persecution: but Constantine the great, a wise and virtuous prince, publicly embraced Christianity. A.D. 312.

This celebrated declaration of Constantine happened in the 312th year of our Lord. Whilst he was besieging Maxentius in Rome, a flaming cross appeared to him in the air, before all the people, with an inscription that promised him victory: the same thing is confirmed to him in a dream. Next day he gained that celebrated battle, which ridded Rome of a tyrant, and the church of a persecutor. The cross was displayed as the defence of the Roman people, and of the whole empire: a little after Maximine was vanquished by Licinius, who was then in good terms with Constantine, and made an exit like that of Galerius. Peace was given to the church. Constantine loaded her with honours and riches. Victory followed him wherever he went, and the barbarians were quelled, as well by him as his children. Mean time Licinius falls out with him, and renews the persecution. Beat by sea and land, he is forced to quit the empire, and at last to lose his life. About this time Constantine assembled at Nice in Bythynia the first general council, where 311 bishops, who represented the whole church, condemned the priest Arius, opposer of the divinity of the son of God; and drew up the creed, wherein the consubstantiality of the father and son is established. The priests of the Roman church, sent by pope Sylvester, took place of all the bishops in that assembly, and an ancient Greek author reckons among the legates of the holy see, the celebrated Osius bishop of Corduba, (now Cordova,) who presided at the council. Constantine took his seat in it, and received its decisions as an oracle from heaven. The Arians concealed their errors, and recovered his good graces by dissimulation. Whilst his valour maintained the empire in profound tranquillity, his own family's peace was disturbed by the artifices of Fausta his wife.

XI. Epoch. Constantine, or the peace of the church.

313.

315. 324. 325.

Gel. Syriè Hist. con. Nic. lib. ii. c. 27.

326.

311.

A. D. Crispus, son of Constantine, but of another marriage, being accused by his step-mother, of having attempted to seduce her, found his father inflexible. His death was quickly revenged. Fausta, convicted, was suffocated in the bath. But Constantine, dishonoured by the wickedness of his wife, derived at the same time a great deal of honour from the piety of his mother. She discovered in the ruins of the ancient Jerusalem, the true cross, said to have been productive of miracles. The holy sepulchre was also found. The new city of Jerusalem, which Hadrian had built, the grotto where the Saviour of the world was born, and all the holy places were adorned with stately temples
330. by Helen and Constantine. Four years after, the emperor rebuilt Byzantium, which he called Constantinople, and made it the second see of the empire. The church, peaceful under Constantine, was cruelly
336. afflicted in Persia. An infinite number of martyrs signalized their faith. The emperor endeavoured in vain to pacify Sapor, and bring him over to Christianity. Constantine's protection afforded the perse-
337. cuted Christians only a favourable retreat. This prince, blessed by the whole church, died full of joy and hope, after dividing the empire among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius and Constans.
340. Their unity was soon disturbed. Constantine perished in the war he had with his brother Constans, about the limits of their empire. Constantius and Constans agreed but little better. Constans maintained the Nicene faith, which Constantius as strenuously opposed. Then did the church admire the long sufferings of St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, and defender of the council of Nice. Thrust out of his see by Con-
341. stantius, he was canonically re-invested by pope Julius
Soc. Hist. Eccl. ii. 15. I. and Constans ratified the decree. This good prince lived not long. The tyrant Magnentius treacherously
Sozom. iii. 8. murdered him: but soon after being vanquished by
350. 351. Constantius, he killed himself also. In the battle, wherein his affairs were ruined, Valens, an Arian

bishop, having had private intelligence from his friends, A. D.
assured Constantius, that the tyrant's army was put to 353.
flight, and made the weak emperor believe that he knew it by revelation. Upon this forged revelation, Constantius delivers himself over to the Arians. The orthodox bishops are expelled their sees: the whole church is filled with confusion and trouble: the constancy of pope Liberius gives way to the tediousness of exile; torments overcame old Osius, formerly the main pillar of the church: the council of Rimini, so 357. 359.
steady at first, yields at last through surprise and violence: nothing is done in order or form; the emperor's authority is the only law: but the Arians, who have thereby the whole management, cannot agree among themselves, and change their creed every day: the Nicene faith stands firm: St. Athanasius, and St. Hilary bishop of Poitiers, its principal champions, make themselves renowned over all the earth. Whilst the emperor Constantius, taken up with the affairs of Arianism, neglected those of the empire, the Persians got great advantages. The Germans and Franks at- 357. 358.
tempted on all hands to get an entrance into the 358.
Gauls. Julian, the emperor's cousin, stopt their ca- 360.
reer, and beat them. The emperor himself defeated 361.
the Sarmatians, and marched against the Persians. Then appear Julian's revolt against the emperor, his apostacy, the death of Constantius, the reign of Julian, his equitable government, and the new kind of persecution he made the church undergo. He fomented her divisions; he excluded the Christians not only from honours, but from studies; and by imitating the holy discipline of the church, he thought to turn her own arms against her. Punishments were contrived, and appointed, under other pretexts, than that of religion. The christians continued faithful to their emperor; but that glory he too greedily pur- 363.
sued, proved the cause of shortening his days: he was
slain in Persia, where he had engaged himself rashly. 364.
Jovian his successor, a zealous christian, found things 366. 367.

A. D. desperate, and lived only to conclude a shameful
368. peace. After him Valentinian made war like a great
370. captain: he carried his son Gratian very young to it,
371. etc. maintained military discipline, beat the barbarians, fortified the frontiers of the empire, and protected the Nicene faith in the West. Valens, his brother, whom he made his colleague, persecuted it in the East; and neither being able to gain nor to crush St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, he gave over all hopes of conquering it. Some Arians added new errors to the former tenets of the sect. Aerius, an Arian priest, is branded in the writings of the fathers as author of a
Epiph. haer. 75. Aug. haer. 53. new heresy, for having put the priesthood on a level with the episcopate, and for having judged useless the prayers and oblations which the whole church made for the dead. A third error of that Heresiarch was, his reckoning among the servitudes of the law, the observance of certain stated fasts, and pretending, that fasting should always be free. He was still alive, when St. Epiphanius wrote his celebrated history of heresies, wherein he is refuted with the rest. St. Martin was made bishop of Tours, and filled the whole
375. world with the noise of his sanctity and miracles, not only during his life-time, but after his death. Valentinian died after a violent speech he made to the enemies of the empire; his impetuous passion, which rendered him dreaded by others, at last proved fatal to himself. Gratian his successor beheld without envy the promotion of his younger brother Valentinian II. who was made emperor, though but nine years old. His mother Justina, a protectress of the Arians, governed during his minority. Here we see in a few years some wonderful events: the revolt
377. of the Goths against the Valens; that prince leaving
378. the Persians to suppress the rebels; Gratian hastening to join him, after getting a signal victory over the Germans: Valens, resolving to conquer alone, precipitates the fight, in which he is routed near Adrianople. The Goths, victorious, burn him alive in a village,

whither he had retired. Gratian, overburdened with affairs, associates in the empire the great Theodosius, and quits to him the east. The Goths are vanquished: all the barbarians are kept in awe, and, what Theodosius no less valued, the Macedonian heretics, who denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, are condemned in the council of Constantinople. There was none but the Greek church there: the consent of all the west, and of pope Damasus, conferred on it the appellation of the second general council. Whilst Theodosius governed with so much fortitude and success, Gratian, who was no less valiant or pious, being deserted by his troops wholly made up of foreigners, fell a sacrifice to the tyrant Maximus. The church and empire lamented that good prince. The tyrant reigned in the Gauls, and seemed to content himself with that district. The empress Justina published, under her son's name, edicts in favour of Arianism. St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, opposed to her nothing but sound doctrine, prayers, and patience, and made shift by such arms, not only to preserve to the church the cathedrals, which the heretics wanted to possess, but also to gain over the young emperor. In the mean time Maximus is stirring again, and Justina finds none more faithful than the holy bishop, whom she was treating as a rebel. She sends him to the tyrant, who proves inflexible to all he can say. The young Valentinian is forced to take flight with his mother. Maximus makes himself master at Rome, where he revives the sacrifices of the false gods, in complaisance to the senate, still almost wholly pagan. After he had got possession of all the west, and at the time he thought himself most secure, Theodosius, assisted by the Franks, defeated him in Pannonia, besieged him in Aquileia, and suffered him to be slain by his soldiers. Now absolute master of both empires, he restored that of the west to Valentinian, who did not keep it long. This young prince both promoted and degraded in extremes Arbogastus, a captain of the Franks, valiant and

A. D. 379. 381. 383. 386. 387. 388. 392.

A. D. disinterested; but capable of maintaining, by all sort of crimes, the power he had acquired over the troops. He raised the tyrant Eugenius, who could do nothing but talk, and killed Valentinian, who would no longer have the proud Frank for his master. This detestable deed was done hard by Vienne, in the country of the Gauls. St. Ambrose, whom the young emperor had sent for, in order to receive baptism from him, deplored his loss, and had good hopes of his salvation.
394. His death did not remain unpunished. A visible miracle gave Theodosius victory over Eugenius, and the false gods, whose worship that tyrant had re-established. Eugenius was taken: there was a necessity of making him a sacrifice to the public vengeance, and to quash the rebellion by his death. The haughty Arbogastus killed himself, rather than have recourse to the conqueror's clemency, which all the rest of the rebels had experienced. Theodosius now alone was the delight, and wonder of the world. He supported religion; he put heretics to silence; he abolished the impure sacrifices of the heathen; he corrected effeminacy, and restrained superfluous expenses. He humbly
390. confessed his faults, and sincerely repented of them. He listened to St. Ambrose, a celebrated doctor of the church, who reproved him for his passion, the only vice of so great a prince. Though always victori-
395. ous, he never made war but through necessity. He rendered the nations happy, and died in peace, more
396. glorious by his faith than his victories. In his time
397. St. Jerom, a priest, having retired to the sacred grotto of Bethlehem, undertook immense labours in order to expound the Scripture: he read all the interpreters, searched all the histories, both sacred and profane, that could give any light to it, and composed from the original Hebrew that version of the Bible, which the whole church has received under the name of Vulgate. The empire, that seemed invincible under Theodosius, changed its aspect all at once under his two sons. Arcadius had the east, and Honorius the west: they

both, being governed by their magistrates, made their power subservient to private interests. Rufinus and Eutropius, successively favourites of Arcadius, and one as wicked as the other, quickly fell; and affairs went never the better under so weak a prince. His wife Eudoxia made him persecute St. John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, and the light of the east. Pope Innocent, and all the west, supported that great bishop against Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, minister of the empress's violence. The west was disturbed by the incursion of barbarians. Radagise, a Goth and heathen, ravaged Italy. The Vandals, a Gothic and Arian nation, seized on part of Gaul, and spread themselves into Spain. Alaric, king of the Visigoths, an Arian people, compelled Honorius to yield up to him those large provinces already possessed by the Vandals. Stilico, embarrassed with so many barbarians, beats them, favours them, plays booty with them, breaks with them, sacrifices all to his interest; and, nevertheless, preserves the empire, which he had a design to usurp. Meanwhile Arcadius died, who thought the east so destitute of good subjects, that he put his son Theodosiut, a child of eight years old, under the tuition of Isdegerd, king of Persia. But Pulcheria, the young emperor's sister, proved capable of great affairs. Theodosius's empire was supported by the prudence, and piety of that princess. That of Honorius seemed near its ruin. He caused Stilico to be put to death, but could not fill his place with so able a minister.

A. D. 395. 399. 403. 404. 406. & foll. 408.

The revolt of Constantine, the total loss of Gaul and Spain, the taking and sacking of Rome by the arms of Alaric and the Visigoths, were the consequences of Stilico's death. Ataulph, more furious than Alaric, pillaged Rome anew, and thought of nothing less than abolishing the Roman name: but for the happiness of the empire, he seized Placidia the emperor's sister. That captive princess, whom he married, mollified him. The Goths treated with the Romans, and esta-

409. 410. 413. 414. 415.

A. D. blished themselves in Spain, reserving in the Gauls the provinces that lay towards the Pyrenees. Their king Vallia conducted those great designs wisely. Spain showed her constancy, nor did her faith suffer any alteration under the dominion of those Arians. Meanwhile the Burgundians, a German people, seized upon the neighbourhood of the Rhine, whence by degrees they gained the country that still bears their name.

420. The Franks did not forget themselves: resolved to make new efforts to open a passage into the Gauls, they raised to the royalty Pharamond, son of Marcomir; and the monarchy of France, the most ancient and most noble in the world, took its rise under him.

423. The unfortunate Honorius died without issue, and with-
424. out providing for the empire. Theodosius named emperor his cousin Valentinian III. son of Placidia and of Constantius her second husband; and placed him, during his minority, under the guardianship of his
412. mother, to whom he gave the title of empress. In
413. those times Celestius and Pelagius denied original sin,
416. and the grace whereby we are christians. In spite of their dissimulations, the African councils condemned
417. them. The popes, Innocent and Zozimus, whom pope Celestine afterwards followed, ratified the sentence, and extended it throughout all the world. St. Augustine confuted those dangerous heretics, and enlightened the whole church by his admirable writings. The same father, backed by St. Prosper, his disciple, stopped the mouths of the Demi-pelagians, who attributed the beginning of justification and faith to the sole power of free-will. An age so unfortunate for the empire, and which gave birth to so many heresies, proved, nevertheless, happy for christianity. No commotion shook it, no heresy corrupted it. The church, fruitful in great men, confounded all errors. After the persecutions, God was pleased to make the glory of his martyrs to shine forth conspicuous: all histories and other writings, are full of the miracles, which their aid implored, and tombs honoured, wrought through

the whole earth. Vigilantius, who opposed so received opinions, being refuted by St. Jerom, remained without a follower: the christian faith grew daily stronger, and more extended. But the empire of the west was at the lowest extremity: attacked by so many enemies, it was also weakened by the jealousies of its generals. By the artifices of Aetius, Boniface, count of Afric, became suspected by Placidia. The count, ill used, brought from Spain Genseric and the Vandals, whom the Goths were expelling that country, and too late repented his calling them. Afric was taken from the empire. The church suffered infinite calamities from the violence of those Arians, and saw a noble army of martyrs crowned. Two dreadful heresies arose; Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, divided the person of Jesus Christ; and twenty years after, Eutyches, an abbot, confounded his twofold nature. St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, opposed Nestorius, who was condemned by pope Celestine. The council of Ephesus, the third general, in execution of this sentence, deposed Nestorius, and confirmed the decree of St. Celestine, whom the bishops of the council call their father in their definition. The holy virgin was acknowledged mother of God, and St. Cyril's doctrine was celebrated over all the earth. Theodosius, after some struggles, submitted to the council, and banished Nestorius. Eutyches, who did not know how to oppose that heresy, without running into another extreme, was no less powerfully cast out. Pope Leo, the great, condemned him, and refuted him at the same time by a letter, which was revered through the whole world. The council of Chalcedon, the fourth general, in which that great pope held the first place, as much from his learning as the authority of his see, anathematized Eutyches, and his protector Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria. The council's letter to Leo shows, that that pope presided there by his legates, as the head over its members. The emperor Marcian assisted in person at that great

A. D. 406. Hier. cont. Vigil. Gennad. de script. Eccl.
429.
430.
430. 431. Part II. Conc. Eph. act. 1. Sent. depos. Nest.
448.
451. Relat. S. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon. Conc. Part.

A. D. assembly, after the example of Constantine, and received its decisions with the same respect. He had been raised to the empire but a little before, by Pulcheria's marrying him. She was acknowledged empress after the death of her brother, who had left no sons. But the empire must needs have a master: Marcian's virtue procured him that honour. During the time of these two councils, Theodoret, bishop of Cyprus made himself famous; and his doctrine would be without blemish, if the violent writings he published against St. Cyril had not stood in need of too great elucidations. These, however, he honestly gave, and was counted among the orthodox bishops. The Gauls began to acknowledge the Franks Aetius had defended them against Pharamond, and Clodio the Long-haired; but Meroveus was more successful, and made a surer settlement in them, much about the same time that the Angles, a Saxon people, invaded the south part of Great Britain. They gave it their name, and there founded several kingdoms. Meantime the Huns, a people from Palus Meotis, desolated the whole world with an immense army, under the conduct of Attila their king, the most shocking of all men.
452. Aetius, who defeated him in the Gauls, could not prevent his ravaging Italy. The Adriatic islands afforded a retreat to many against his fury. Venice arose in the midst of the waters. Pope Leo, more powerful than Aetius and the Roman armies, commanded respect from that barbarous and heathen king, and saved Rome from pillage: but she was soon after exposed to it by the debauches of her emperor Valentinian.
454. Maximus, whose wife he had ravished, found means to
455. destroy him, by dissembling his resentment, and making a merit of his complaisance. By his deceitful counsels, the blinded emperor put to death Aetius, the sole bulwark of the empire. Maximus, author of the murder, spirits up the friends of Aetius to revenge it, and so gets the emperor killed. By these steps he ascends the throne, and compels the empress Eudoxia,

daughter of the younger Theodosius, to marry him. A. D.
In order to get out of his hands, she was not afraid to
put herself into those of Genseric. Rome becomes a
prey to the barbarian: St. Leo alone prevents his put-
ting every thing to fire and sword: the people tear
Maximus to pieces, which is their only, though dismal,
consolation in their calamities. All is embroiled in
the west: we there see several emperors rise and fall 456.
almost at the same time. Majorian was the most con- 457.
siderable. Avitus but ill supported his reputation, and
saved himself by a bishopric. The Gauls can no 458.
longer hold out against Meroveus, and Childeric, his
son: but the latter had almost been ruined by his de-
bauches. If his subjects expelled him, a faithful 465.
friend, which he had yet left, got him recalled. His
valour made him feared by his enemies, and his con-
quests extended a great way into the Gauls. The
eastern empire was peaceable under Leo the Thracian, 474.
successor to Marcian, and under Zeno, Leo's son-in- 475.
law and successor. The revolt of Basiliscus being 476.
soon suppressed, caused but a short disturbance to that
emperor: but the empire of the west perished irreco-
verably. Augustus, commonly called Augustulus, son
of Orestes, was the last emperor acknowledged at
Rome, and immediately after was dispossessed by
Odoacer, king of the Herulians. These were a peo-
ple come from the Euxine sea, whose dominion lasted
not long. In the east, the emperor Zeno attempted
to signalize himself in an unheard of manner. He was
the first of the emperors that took upon him to settle
points of faith. Whilst the Demi-Eutychians oppos- 482.
ed the council of Chalcedon, he published against the
council his Henoticum, that is, his decree of union, de-
tested by the catholics, and condemned by pope Fe-
lix III. The Herulians were soon driven out of 488.
Rome, by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, or East 490. 491.
Goths, who founded the kingdom of Italy, and allowed,
though an Arian, a pretty free exercise to the catholic
religion. The emperor Anastasius disturbed it in the 492.

A. D. east. He trod in the steps of Zeno his predecessor,
492. and supported the heretics. He thereby alienated the minds of the people, and could never regain them, even by taking off their heavy taxes. Italy obeyed Theodoric. Odoacer, hard put to it in Ravenna, endeavoured to save himself by a treaty, which Theodoric did not observe, and the Herulians were forced to part with every thing. Theodoric, besides Italy, possessed also Provence. In his time St. Bennet, having retired into a desert in Italy, began from his most tender years, to practise the holy maxims, whereof he afterwards composed that excellent rule, which all the western monks received with the same regard, the eastern monks pay to that of St. Basil. The Romans completed the overthrow of the Gauls, by the victories
495. of Clovis, son of Childeric. He gained also the battle of Tolbiac over the Germans, by the vow he made of embracing the christian religion, to which his wife Clotilda was incessantly persuading him. She was of the house of the kings of Burgundy, and a zealous catholic, though her family and nation were Arian. Clovis, instructed by St. Vaast, was baptised at Reims, with his Frenchmen, by St. Remy, bishop of that ancient metropolis. He alone, of all the princes then in the world, maintained the catholic faith, and merited
506. the title of *Most Christian* to his successors. By the
507. battle in which he killed with his own hand Alaric, king of the Visigoths, Toulouse and Aquitain were added
508. to his kingdom. But the victory of the Ostrogoths prevented his taking all as far as the Pyrenees, and the end of his reign sullied the glory of its beginning.
510. His four children parted the kingdom among them, and were continually making attacks on one another.
518. Anastasius died by lightning. Justin, of mean birth, but good parts, and a thorough catholic, was made emperor by the senate. He submitted, with all his
526. people, to the decrees of pope Hormisdas; and put an end to the troubles of the eastern church. In his time Boetius, a man celebrated for learning as well as

birth, and Symmachus his father-in-law, both raised to the highest posts, were sacrificed to the jealousy of Theodoric, who groundlessly suspected them of conspiring against the state. The king, troubled in mind for his crime, thought he saw the head of Symmachus in a dish served up to his table, and died some time after. Amalasonta, his daughter, and mother of Atalaric, who became king by the death of his grandfather, is hindered by the Goths from giving the young prince the education suitable to his birth; and being forced to give him up to persons of his own age, she is witness to his ruining himself, without being able to prevent it. The year following Justin died, after associating in the empire his nephew Justinian, whose long reign is celebrated for the labours of Tribonian, compiler of the Roman law, and for the exploits of Belisarius, and of the eunuch Narses. These two famous captains checked the Persians, defeated the Ostrogoths and Vandals, and recovered to their master Afric, Italy, and Rome: but the emperor jealous of their glory, without offering to take part in their toils, gave them always more trouble than assistance. The kingdom of France was receiving new accessions. After a long war, Childebert and Clotaire, sons of Clovis, conquered the kingdom of Burgundy, and at the same time sacrificed to their ambition the children, yet minors, of their brother Clodomir, whose kingdom they divided between them. Some time after, and whilst Belisarius so vigorously attacked the Ostrogoths, what they had in the Gauls, was abandoned to the French. France extended then far beyond the Rhine: but the particular portions of princes, which made so many kingdoms, hindered its being united under one and the same dominion. Its principal parts were Neustria, or West France, and Austrasia, or East France.

A. D. 527. 529. 530. &c. 533. 534. 532. 533. 532.

The same year that Rome was retaken by Narses, Justinian caused to be held at Constantinople, the fifth general council, which confirmed the preceding ones, 553.

A. D. and condemned some writings that were favourable to Nestorius. This is what was called the three chapters, on account of the three authors, long before dead, who were then in question. There were condemned the memory and writings of Theodore bishop of Mopsuesta, a letter of Ibas bishop of Edessa, and among Theodoret's writings, those which he had composed against St. Cyril. The books of Origen, which had disturbed the whole East for a century, received also sentence of reprobation. This council, though begun upon bad designs, had a happy conclusion; and was received by the holy see, which had
535. at first opposed it. Two years after the council, Narses, who had taken Italy from the Goths, defended it against the French, and obtained a complete victory over Buceline, general of the troops of Austrasia. Maugre all these advantages, Italy continued not long in the possession of the emperors. Under Justin II. Justinian's nephew, and after the death of Narses, the kingdom of Lombardy was founded by Alboin. He took Milan and Pavia: Rome and Ravenna could
570. 571. hardly keep out of his hands; and the Lombards
574. made the Romans suffer the greatest hardships. Rome was but poorly succoured by her emperors, whom the Avari, a Scythian nation, the Saracens, a people of Arabia, and the Persians, more than all the rest, were harassing on all sides in the East. Justin, who trusted none but himself and his passions, was always beat by the Persians, and their king Chosroes. So many losses vexed him to that degree, that he fell into a frenzy.
578. His wife Sophia supported the empire. The unfortu-
580. nate prince recovered his senses too late, and saw upon his death-bed the villany of his flatterers. After him, Tiberius II. whom he had named emperor, checked
581. the enemies, eased the people, and enriched himself by his arms. The victories of Maurice the Cappadocian,
585. general of his armies, caused the proud Chosroes to die of the spleen. They were rewarded with the em-

pire, which Tiberius gave him at his death, together with his daughter Constantina. In this period the ambitious Fredegunda, wife to king Chilperick I. put all France in combustion, and was continually stirring up bloody wars among the French kings. In the midst of the calamities of Italy, and whilst Rome was visited with a dreadful pestilence, St. Gregory the great was promoted, notwithstanding his modest reluctance, to St. Peter's chair. This great pope assuages the plague by his prayers; instructs the emperors, and at the same time causes all due obedience to be paid them; comforts Afric, and strengthens it; confirms in Spain the Visigoths converted from Arianism, and Recarede the catholic, who had just returned into the bosom of the church; converts England; reforms the discipline in France, whose kings, ever orthodox, he exalts above all the kings of the earth; bends the haughty Lombards; saves Rome and Italy, which the emperors were unable to assist; checks the growing pride of the patriarchs of Constantinople enlightens the whole church by his doctrine; governs the east and west with equal vigour and humility, and affords the world a perfect model of ecclesiastical government. The history of the church has nothing more beautiful than the entry of the holy monk Augustine into the kingdom of Kent, with forty of his companions, who preceded by the cross and image of the great king, our Lord Jesus Christ, made solemn vows for the conversion of England. St. Gregory, who had sent them, instructed them by letters truly apostolical, and taught St. Augustine to tremble, amidst the continual miracles that God was working by his ministry. Bertha, a princess of France, won over king Ethilbert her husband to christianity. The kings of France, and queen Brunehault protected the new mission. The bishops of France entered into this good work, and it was they who, by pope's order, consecrated St. Austin. The reinforcement which St. Gregory sent

A. D.

590.

597. Beda, lib. 1.

Greg. lib. 9. Ep. 88. ind. 4.

601.

A. D. the new bishop, produced new fruits, and the Anglican church took its form. The emperor Maurice, having experienced the fidelity of the holy pontiff, was reclaimed by his instructions, and received from him the commendation so worthy of a christian prince, that the heretics durst never open their mouths in his time. This pious emperor was guilty, however, of one great fault. An infinite number of Romans perished among the hands of the barbarians, for want of being ransomed at a crown a head. We see immediately after the good emperor's remorse, the prayer he makes to God to punish him in this world rather than in the next; the revolt of Phocas, who murders his whole family before his eyes; Maurice himself, the last put to death, and amidst all his misfortunes uttering nothing else but this verse of the psalmist. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments.* Phocas, raised to the empire by so execrable an action, endeavoured to gain the people, by honouring the holy see, whose privileges he confirmed. But his doom was fixed. Heraclius, proclaimed emperor by the African army, marched against him. Then Phocas found by experience, that debauches prove oftentimes more hurtful to princes than even acts of cruelty; and Photinus, whose wife he had debauched, delivered him up to Heraclius, who caused him to be put to death. France beheld, a little after, a much stranger tragedy. Queen Brunehault, given up into the hands of Clotaire II. fell a sacrifice to that prince's ambition: her memory was blackened, and her virtue, so much commended by pope Gregory, can yet scarce find vindication. The empire mean while was laid waste. Chosroes II. king of Persia, under pretext of revenging Maurice, had undertaken the destruction of Phocas. He pushed his conquests under Heraclius. We see the emperor beat, and the true cross carried off by the infidels: then, by a wonderful turn, Heraclius five

604. 601. 602. Psal. xcix. 608. 610. 614. 620.

times conqueror; Persia penetrated by the Romans, A. D.
Chosroes killed by his son, and the holy cross retaken. 621.
Whilst the power of the Persians was so effectually 622.
checked a greater evil broke out against the empire, 625.
and against all christendom. Mahomet set himself up 626.
for a prophet among the Saracens; he was expelled
Mecca by his own people. At his flight begins the 622.
Hegyra, from whence the Mahometans compute their
years. The false prophet gave his victories for the
whole proof of his mission. In nine years he sub-
jected all Arabia, either by fair or foul means, and
laid the foundation of the empire of the Caliphs. To 629.
these mischiefs were added the heresy of the Mono-
theli es, who by an almost inconceivable oddity, while
they acknowledged two natures in our Lord, would
admit of but one will. The man, accordin to them,
had no will; there was in Jesus Christ only the will
of the word. These heretics concealed their poison
under ambiguous terms; and a false love of peace
made them propose, that neither one, nor two wills
should be spoke of. By these artifices they imposed 633.
on pope Honorius I. who entered into a dangerous for-
bearance with them, and consented to silence, in which
falsehood and truth were equally suppressed. To com- 639.
plete the misfortune, some time after the emperor
Heraclius took upon him to decide the question by
his own authority, and proposed his ecthesis, or ex-
position, favourable to the Monothelites; but the ar-
tifices of the heretics were at length detected. Pope 640.
John IV. condemned the ecthesis. Constans, grand- 648.
son to Heraclius, supported his grandfather's edict by 649.
his own, called the Type. The holy see, and pope
Theodore, oppose this attempt; Pope Martin I. con-
vocates the council of Latran, where he anathematises
the Type, and the heads of the Monothelites. St.
Maximus, celebrated through all the East for his piety
and learning, quits the court, infected with the new
heresy, openly reproves the emperors, who had pre-
sumed to pronounce on points of faith, and suffers

A. D. numberless hardships for the catholic religion. The
650. pope, dragged from exile to exile, and still harshly
654. treated by the emperor, dies, at last, amidst his sufferings, without repining or remitting any part of the duty of his ministry. Mean time the new Anglican church, strengthened by the cares of popes Boniface V. and Honorius, was spreading abroad her lustre throughout the whole earth. With the virtues, miracles also abounded, as in the apostles' days: and nothing was more shining than the sanctity of her kings. Edwin embraced, with all his people, the
627. faith which had given him victory over his enemies,
634. and converted his neighbours. Oswald was interpreter to the preachers of the gospel; and, though renowned for his conquests, he preferred to them the glory of being a christian. The Mercians were con-
655. verted by the king of Northumberland, Oswin: their neighbours and successors followed their footsteps; and their good works were infinite. Every thing was going to wreck in the east. Whilst the emperors
634. are wasting themselves in disputes about religion, and
635.
636. inventing heresies, the Saracens penetrate into the
637. empire; they seize on Syria and Palestine; the holy city is subjected to them; Persia is laid open by its divisions, and they take that great kingdom without
647. resistance. They enter Afric, in a fair way of soon
648. making it one of their provinces: the isle of Cyprus yields them obedience, and in less than thirty years they add all these conquests to those of Mahomet. Italy, ever hapless and forlorn, groaned under the arms of the Lombards. Constans despaired of expelling them, and resolved to ravage what he could not defend. More cruel than the Lombards them-
663. selves, he came to Rome, only to plunder its treasures: the very churches did not escape him: he ruined Sardinia and Sicily; and having become odious to all the world, he perished by the hands of his own
668.
671. servants. Under his son Constantine Pogonatus, or the Bearded, the Saracens made themselves masters

of Cilicia and Lycia. Constantinople besieged was saved only by a miracle. The Bulgarians, a people from the mouth of the Volga, joined the many enemies, with which the empire was overwhelmed, and seized on that part of Thrace, called since Bulgaria, which was the ancient Mysia. A. D. 672. 678.

The Anglican church brought forth new churches; and St. Wilfrid, bishop of York, being expelled his see, converted Friesland. The whole church received a new light from the council of Constantinople, the sixth general one, where pope Agatho presided by his legates, and explained the Catholic faith by an admirable letter. The council anathematized a bishop celebrated for his learning, a patriarch of Alexandria, four patriarchs of Constantinople, or, all the authors of the sect of the Monothelites; without sparing pope Honorius himself, who had showed them too much favour. After the death of Agatho, which happened during the council, pope Leo II. confirmed its decisions, and received all its anathemas. Constantine Pogonatus, an imitator of the great Constantine and of Marcian, took his seat in the council after their example; and as he paid it the same submissions, he was honoured with the same titles of orthodox, religious, pacific emperor, and restorer of religion. His son Justinian II. yet a child, succeeded him. In his time the faith extended, and diffused its benign influences towards the north. St. Kilian, sent by pope Conon, preached the gospel in Franconia. In the time of pope Sergius, Ceadwalla, one of the kings of England, came in person to do homage to the Roman church, from whence the faith had passed into his part of the Britannic island; and after receiving baptism from the pope's hands, he departed in peace according to his wish. The house of Clovis was fallen into a deplorable weakness; frequent minorities had degenerated the princes into a state of softness and effeminacy, which they could never get out of, when of age. Hence sprung a long succession of drones, who had 680. 685. 686. 689.

A D. nothing but the name of king, and left the whole power to the *Maires du Palais*, or grand ministers of the
693. crown. Under this title Pepin Heristel, governed every thing, and raised his family to higher expectations.
695. By his authority, and after the martyrdom of St. Wigbert, the faith was established in Friesland; which France had added to her conquests. St. Swibert, St. Willebrod, and other apostolical persons, propagated the gospel in the neighbouring provinces. Meantime Justinian's minority was happily over: the victories of Leontius had overthrown the Saracens, and restored the empire's glory in the east. But that valiant cap-
694. 696. tain being unjustly arrested and unseasonably released, supplanted his master, and expelled him. This rebel met with a like treatment from Tiberius, named Absimarus, who stood not long himself. Justinian re-
702. stored, proved ungrateful to his friends; by revenging himself of his enemies, he made more formidable ones,
711. who killed him. The images of Philippicus his successor were not received in Rome, on account of his favouring the Monothelites, and declaring himself an enemy to the sixth council. Anastasius II. a catholic prince, was elected at Constantinople, and Philippi-
713. cus's eyes were put out. At this time the debauches of king Roderic, or Rodrigo, caused Spain to fall a prey to the Mauri, or Moors; for so were called the Saracens of Afric. Count Julian, to revenge his daughter, whom Roderick abused, invited those infidels. They come with an innumerable host: the king is killed: Spain is subdued and the empire of the Goths there is extinguished. The church of Spain was put then to a new trial: but as she had stood her ground under the Arians, the Mahometans could not prevail against her. They left her at first with a good deal of liberty: but in after ages she had severe conflicts to maintain; and chastity had its martyrs as well as faith, under the tyranny of a nation equally brutal and infidel. Anastasius swayed not long the imperial
715. sceptre. The army forced Theodosius III. to assume

the purple. A battle necessarily ensued; the new emperor gained it, and Anastasius was clapped into a monastery. The Moors, masters of Spain, were in hopes of extending themselves soon beyond the Pyrenees; but Charles Martel, destined to check them, had arisen in France, and had succeeded, though a bastard, to the power of his father Pepin Heristel; who left Austrasia in his family, as a kind of sovereign principality, and the command in Neustria, by the post of *Maire du Palais*. Charles united both by his valour. The eastern affairs were embroiled. Leo the 716.
Isurian, governor of the east, would not acknowledge Theodosius, who quitted without reluctance, that empire which he had accepted only by force; and retiring to Ephesus, gave himself up entirely to the study of true greatness. The Saracens received some great 718.
blows during the empire of Leo. They shamefully 719.
raised the siege of Constantinople. Pelagius, who cantoned himself in the mountains of Asturia, with the most resolute of the Goths, after a signal victory, set up in opposition to those infidels a new kingdom, by which they were one day to be driven out of Spain. In spite of the efforts and vast army of Abderamus their general, Charles Martel gained over them the famous battle of Tours. There fell an infinite number of 725.
the infidels, and Abderamus himself lay dead upon the field. This victory was attended with other advantages, whereby Charles put a stop to the progress of the Moors, and extended the kingdom as far as the Pyrenees. There now remained scarce any part of the Gauls, that was not under the obedience of the French; and all did homage to Charles Martel. Mighty both in peace and war, and absolute master of the kingdom, he reigned under several kings, whom he set up and pulled down at his pleasure, without ever presuming to take upon him that high title. The jealousy of the French lords chose to be thus deceived. Religion was establishing in Germany. The 728.
priest Boniface converted that people, and was made

A. D. their bishop by pope Gregory II. who had sent him thither. The empire was then pretty quiet; but Leo raised in it a lasting disturbance. He attempted to overturn as so many idols, the images of Jesus Christ,
728. and his saints. As he could not bring St Germain, patriarch of Constantinople, over to his way of thinking, he acted by his own authority; and upon a decree of the senate, he first of all broke down an image of Jesus Christ, which stood upon the great gate of the church of Constantinople. Thus began the outrages of the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers. The other images, which the emperors, bishops, and all the faithful had set up since the peace of the church, both in public and private places, were also pulled down. At this scene the people was moved. The statues of the emperor were overthrown in different parts. He immediately thinking his person affronted, was reproached with offering a like insult to Jesus Christ and his saints, and that by his own confession, the indignity offered to the image, reflected upon the original. Italy went still farther: the emperor's impiety caused him to be refused the ordinary tributes. Luitprand, king of the Lombards, made use of the same pretext for seizing on Ravenna, the residence of the Exarchs: thus were called the governors, whom the emperors sent into Italy. Pope Gregory II. opposed the pulling down of the images: but he at the same time opposed the enemies of the empire, and
730. endeavoured to retain the people in their obedience. Peace was made with the Lombards, and the emperor executed his decree against the images with greater violence than ever. But the famous John of Damascus declared to him, that in matters of religion, he knew no decrees but those of the church, and suffered greatly on that account. The emperor drove from
739. his see the patriarch, St. Germain, who died in exile at
740. the age of 90 years. A little after, the Lombards again took up arms, and in the calamities they brought upon the Roman people, they were restrained only by

the authority of Charles Martel, whose assistance pope Gregory II. had implored. The new kingdom of Spain, which was called in those early times, the kingdom of Oviedo, was receiving accessions from the victories and conduct of Alphonsus, son-in-law to Pelagius, who, after the example of Recarede, from whom he was descended, assumed the name of Catholic. Leo died, and left the empire, as well as the church, in a great fermentation. Artabazus, pretor of Armenia, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, instead of Constantine Copronymus son of Leo, and restored the images. After the death of Charles Martel, Luitprand threatened Rome anew; the exarchate of Ravenna was in danger, and Italy owed its safety to the prudence of pope Zachary. Constantine embarrassed in the east, thought of nothing but establishing himself; he beat Artabazus, took Constantinople, and filled it with executions. Charles Martel's two sons, Carloman and Pepin, had succeeded to their father's power: but Carloman growing sick of the world, in the midst of his grandeur and victories, embraced a monastic life. By these means his brother Pepin centred the whole power in his person. He knew how to support it by an exalted merit, and formed the design of raising himself to the crown. Childeric, the most pitiful of all princes, opened the way to him, by joining to the quality of a drone, that of a natural fool. The French, quite weary of their drones, and so long accustomed to Charles Martel's family, ever fruitful in great men, were gravelled at nothing but the oath they had taken to Childeric. Upon the answer of pope Zachary they thought themselves free, and so much the more disengaged from their oath of allegiance to their king, that he and his forefathers, for two hundred years past, seemed to have renounced their right of ruling over them, by leaving the whole power entailed, as it were, in the office of *Maire du Palais*. So Pepin was placed on the throne, and the name of king was re-united with the authority. Pope Stephen II.

A. D. 741. 742. 743. 747. 752. 753.

A. D. found in the new king the same zeal that Charles Martel had shown for the holy see against the Lombards. After vainly imploring the emperor's aid, he
754. threw himself again into the arms of the French. The king received him in France with respect, and would be anointed and crowned by his hand. At the same time he passed the Alps, delivered Rome and the exarchy of Ravenna, and reduced Astolph, king of the Lombards, to an equitable peace. In the mean time the emperor made war upon the images. To support himself by ecclesiastical authority, he assembled a numerous council at Constantinople. There
Conc. Nic. ii. Act. 6. did not, however, appear, according to custom, either the legates of the holy see, or the bishops, or legates from the other patriarchal sees. In this council, they
Ibid. defin. not only condemned as idolatrous, all honour paid to
pseudo-syn. C. P. images in memory of the originals, but they even damned sculpture and painting as detestable arts. This was the opinion of the Saracens, whose advice Leo was said to have followed, when he overthrew the im-
Ibid. Pseudo syn. C. P. Can. ix. & xi. ages. Nothing, however, appeared against relics. The council of Copronymus did not forbid to honour them, and thunder out anathemas against such as refused to have recourse to the prayers of the holy virgin and the saints. The Catholics persecuted for the honour they paid to images, made answer to the emperor, that they had rather endure all manner of extremities, than not honour Jesus Christ in his very shadow.
755. Meantime Pepin repassed the Alps, and chastised the faithless Astolph, who refused to fulfil the treaty of peace. The Roman Church never received a more noble gift than that which that pious prince then made her. He gave her the cities retaken from the Lombards, and laughed at Copronymus, when he re-demanded what he had not been able to defend. From that time the emperors were but little acknowledged in Rome; they became contemptible for their weakness, and odious for their errors. Pepin was regarded as protector of the Roman people, and of the Ro-

man church. That quality became, as it were, hereditary to his house, and to the kings of France. Charlemagne, son of Pepin, supported it with equal courage and piety. Pope Adrian had recourse to him against Didier, king of the Lombards, who had taken several cities, and was threatening all Italy. Charlemagne passed the Alps. Every thing yielded. Didier was delivered up: the Lombard kings, enemies to Rome, and to the popes, were destroyed: Charlemagne had himself crowned king of Italy, and assumed the title of king of the French and Lombards. At the same time he exercised in Rome itself the supreme authority in quality of patrician, and confirmed to the holy see the donations of the king his father. The emperors had difficulty to withstand the Bulgarians, and vainly supported against Charlemagne, the dispossessed Lombards. The quarrel of the images still subsisted. Leo III. son of Copronymus, seemed at first pretty moderate; but renewed the persecution so soon as he thought himself master. He quickly died. His son Constantine, but ten years old succeeded him, and reigned under the tuition of the empress Irene his mother. Then things begun to change their aspect. Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, declared towards the latter end of his life that he had opposed the images contrary to his conscience; and retired into a monastery, where he deplored, in presence of the empress, the misfortune of the church of Constantinople, separated from the four patriarchal sees: and proposed to her the celebration of an universal council, as the only remedy of so great an evil. Tarasius his successor, maintained, that the question had not been judged in due order, because they had begun with a decree of the emperor, upon which an informal council had followed; whereas in matters of religion, it belonged to the council to begin, and to the emperors to support the judgment of the church. Going upon this argument, he accepted the patriarchate only upon condition that the universal council

A.D.
772.
773.
777.
780.
784.

A. D. should be held: it was commenced at Constantinople and continued at Nice. The pope sent thither his legates: the council of the Iconoclasts was condemned: they are detested as people, who, after the example of the Saracens, accused the christians of idolatry. It was decided, that images should be honoured in remembrance, and for the sake of the originals; which is called in the council relative worship, honorary adoration and salutation, as opposed to supreme worship, and adoration of *Latria*, or of entire subjection, which the council reserves for God alone. Besides the legates of the holy see, and the presence of the patriarch of Constantinople, there appeared legates from the other patriarchal sees, then oppressed by the infidels. Some have disputed their mission, but what is undisputed, is, that far from disowning them, all those sees have admitted the council, without the least appearance of contradiction, and it has been received by the whole church. The French, encompassed with idolaters, or with new christians, whose ideas they were afraid to perplex, and at the same time puzzled with the equivocal term adoration, hesitated long. Of all the images, they would pay honour to none, but that of the cross, as being absolutely different from the figures which the heathens believed full of divinity. They preserved, however, the other images in an honourable place, and even in the churches, and detested the Iconoclasts. What difference remained, made not any schism. The French came at length to understand that the fathers of Nice required for images only the same kind of worship, in all due proportion, which they themselves paid to relics, to the book of the gospel, and to the cross; and this council was honoured by all Christendom, under the name of the seventh general council.

787. Conc. Nic. ii. Act. 7.

Thus have we seen the seven general councils, which the east, and the west, the Greek and Latin churches receive with equal veneration. The emperors called those great assemblies, by the sovereign authority they had over all the bishops, or, at least over

the principal ones, on whom all the rest depended, and A. D.
who were then subjects of the empire. The public vehicles were furnished them by order of the princes. They assembled the councils in the east, where they made their residence, and usually sent thither commissaries to maintain order. The bishops, thus assembled, carried with them the authority of the Holy Ghost, and the tradition of the churches. At the beginning of christianity there were three principal sees, which had the precedency of all the rest: those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. The council of Nice had allowed the same rank to the bishop of the holy city. The second and fourth councils exalted the see of Constantinople, and would have it to be the second. Thus were there five sees, which came, in process of time, to be called patriarchal. The precedency was given them in council. Of those sees, the see of Rome was ever regarded the first, and the council of Nice regulated the others by it. There were also Metropolitan bishops, who were heads of provinces, and took place of the other bishops. It was pretty late before they began to be called archbishops; but their authority was nothing the less acknowledged. When the council was formed, the holy scripture was propounded; passages of the ancient fathers, witnesses of tradition, were read: it was tradition that interpreted scripture: its true meaning was believed to be that, about which former ages were agreed; and no one thought he had a right to explain it otherwise. Such as refused to submit to the decisions of the council, were anathematized. The faith, being explained, ecclesiastical discipline was settled, and canons, that is, rules of the church, were drawn up. It was believed, that the faith never changed, and that though discipline might receive divers alterations, according to times and places, men ought to aim, as much as possible, at a perfect imitation of antiquity. In fine, the popes assisted only by their legates at the first general councils; but they approved

Conc. Nic. Can. 7. Conc. C. P. 1. Can. 3. Conc. Chalced. Can 28.

Conc. Nic. Can. 6.

A. D. expressly of their doctrine, and there was but one faith in the church.

787. Constantine and Irene, caused the decrees of the seventh council to be religiously executed; but the rest of their conduct was not conform. The young prince, whom his mother forced to marry a woman he did not love, gave himself up to dishonourable amours; and, weary of paying implicit obedience to his imperious mother, he endeavoured to remove her from public affairs, of which she kept the management in
793. spite of him. Alphonsus the chaste reigned in Spain. The perpetual continence that prince observed, earned him that noble title, and rendered him worthy to deliver Spain from the infamous tribute of an hundred virgins, which his uncle Mauregatus had granted to the Moors. Threescore and ten thousand of those infidels killed in a battle with Mugatius their general,
795. evinced the valour of Alphonsus. Constantine was also endeavouring to signalise himself against the Bulgarians; but the success did not answer his expectation. He destroyed, at last, the whole power of Irene; and being as incapable to govern himself, as to suffer
798. the government of another, he divorced his wife Mary,
799. in order to espouse Theodora, one of her attendants. His mother, highly exasperated, fomented the troubles, which so great a scandal occasioned, and by her artifices wrought the destruction of Constantine. She gained the people by moderating the taxes, and engaged the monks and clergy in her interest, by an apparent piety. At length she was acknowledged sole empress. The Romans, despising her government, went over to Charlemagne, who subdued the Saxons, checked the Saracens, destroyed heresies, protected the popes, won infidel nations to christianity, restored the sciences, and ecclesiastical discipline, assembled famous councils, where his profound learning was admired; and made not only France and Italy, but Spain, England, Germany, and every where, feel the happy effects of his piety and justice.

At length, in the 800th year of our Lord, that great protector of Rome and Italy, or, to say better, of the whole church and all christendom, being elected emperor by the Romans, without his dreaming of any such thing, and crowned by pope Leo III. who had prompted the Roman people to this choice, became founder of the new empire, and of the temporal greatness of the holy see. XII. Epoch. Charlemagne, or, the establishment of the new empire

These, Sir, be the twelve epochs, which I have followed in this abridgment. I have annexed to each of them, the principal facts that depend upon them. You may now, without much difficulty, dispose, according to the order of time, the great events of ancient history, and rank them, so to speak, every one under its own standard.

I have not forgot, in this epitome, that celebrated division, which chronologers make of the duration of the world, into seven ages. The beginning of each age serves us for an epoch; if I intermix some others with them, it is, that things may be the more distinct; and that the order of time may unfold itself before you with the less confusion.

When I speak to you of the order of time, I do not mean, Sir, that you should charge yourself scrupulously with every date; far less, that you should enter into all the disputes of chronologers, which are generally but about a few years. Contentious chronology, that stands so critically upon those minute matters, has, doubtless, its use; but it is not your affair, and conduces very little to enlighten the mind of a great prince. I did by no means intend to refine upon this discussion of time, and among the calculations already made, I have followed that, which to me seemed most probable, without engaging to warrant it.

Whether in the computation we make of years from the time of the creation down to Abraham, we should follow the Septuagint, which makes the world older, or the Hebrew, which makes it younger by several centuries; though, indeed, the authority of the origi-

nal Hebrew seems to deserve the preference, it is a thing so indifferent in itself, that the church, which hath with St. Jerom, followed the computation of the Hebrew in our vulgate, has allowed that of the Septuagint in her martyrology. In fact, what matters it to history to diminish or multiply vacant centuries, where a man can have nothing to relate? Is it not enough, that the times, wherein the dates are important, have fixed characters, and that the distribution of them be supported upon certain foundations? And though even in these times there should be a dispute about some years, this would seldom or never create any difficulty. For example, should we be obliged to put a few years sooner or later, either the foundation of Rome, or the birth of Jesus Christ, you may have perceived, that this diversity does no wise affect the series of the histories, or the accomplishment of the counsels of God. You are to shun anachronisms, that perplex the order of affairs, and leave the others to be disputed among the learned.

No more would I burden your memory with the computation of Olympiads, although the Greeks, who make use of them, render them necessary for the fixing of times. It is fit you should know what it is, in order to have recourse to it, upon occasion: but in short it will be sufficient, to confine you to the dates, which I propose, as the most simple, and the most followed, namely, those of the world to Rome, those of Rome to Jesus Christ, and those of Jesus Christ to all generations.

But the true design of this epitome, is, not to explain to you the order of times, though that be absolutely necessary towards connecting of all histories, and showing their mutual relation. I told you, Sir, that my principal scope was to make you consider, in the order of time, the progress of the people of God, and that of great empires.

These two important objects run on together in that great movement of ages, where they have, if I may

so say, one and the same course; but it will be needful, in order to the right understanding of them, to take them apart sometimes the one from the other, and to consider separately whatever may relate to each of them.

PART II.

The Progress of Religion.

1. The creation, and first times.

ABOVE all, religion and the progress of the people of God considered in this manner, is the greatest and most useful of all objects, that can be proposed to man. How beautiful is it to take a review of the different states of God's people, under the law of nature, and the patriarchs; under Moses, and the written law; under David, and the prophets; from the return out of captivity, until Jesus Christ; and lastly, under Jesus Christ himself, that is, under the law of grace, and the gospel; in the ages that have expected the Messiah, and in those, wherein he hath appeared; in those, wherein the worship of God was reduced to one people, and in those, in which, agreeably to ancient prophecies, it was spread abroad over all the earth; in those, in fine, where men, yet full of infirmity and grossness, stood in need of being supported by temporal rewards and punishments, and in those wherein the faithful, better instructed, are no longer to live but by faith, having their affections set upon eternal good things, and suffering, in hopes of possessing them, all the evils that can possibly exercise their patience.

And, surely, Sir, nothing can be conceived more worthy of God, than to have, first of all, chosen to himself a people, who should be a palpable instance

of his eternal providence; a people, whose good or ill fortune should depend upon their piety or impiety, and whose condition should give testimony to the wisdom and justice of Him who governed them. With this did God begin, and this did he make manifest in the Jewish people. But after having, by so many sensible proofs, established this immoveable foundation, that He is the sole and absolute disposer of all the events of this life, it was time to raise men's minds to higher notions, and to send Jesus Christ, for whom it was reserved to discover to new people, collected from all the nations of the world, the secrets of the life to come.

You may easily trace the history of both the old and new people, and observe, how Jesus Christ is their common centre of union; since either expected, or given, He hath been, in all ages, the consolation and hope of the children of God.

Behold then religion ever uniform, or, rather, ever the same from the foundation of the world! The same God hath ever been acknowledged the maker, the same Christ, the saviour of mankind.

Thus you shall see, that there is nothing more ancient among men, than the religion you profess, and that it is not without reason your ancestors have placed their greatest glory in being protectors of it.

What a convincing testimony is it of the truth, to find, that in the times wherein profane histories have nothing to tell us but fables, or at most confused, and half-forgotten facts, the scripture, which is, without dispute, the most ancient book in the world, carries us back by so many precise events, and by the very chain of things, to their true principle, that is, God, the author of all; and points out to us so distinctly, the creation of the universe, that of man in particular, the happiness of his first state, the causes of his miseries and frailties, the corruption of the world, and the deluge, the origin of arts and nations, the distribution of lands; in short, the propagation of mankind, and other mat-

ters of like importance, whereof human histories speak but confusedly, and oblige us to seek elsewhere the certain sources of them.

But if the antiquity of religion gives it so much authority, its progress continued without interruption, or alteration, during so many ages, and in spite of so many interposing obstacles, makes manifest the hand of God supporting it.

What can be more wonderful, than to behold it still subsist upon the same foundations from the beginning of the world, without either the idolatry and impiety which on all sides surrounded it, or the tyrants, who have persecuted it, or the heretics and infidels, that have endeavoured to corrupt it, or the cowards, that have basely betrayed it, or its unworthy followers, who have dishonoured it by their crimes, or, in fine, the length of time, which alone is sufficient to destroy all human things; without any, or all of these, having ever been able, not to say, to extinguish, but even to alter it!

If we now come to consider what idea that religion, whose antiquity we revere, gives us of her object, that is, of the first being, we shall confess her above all human conception, and worthy to be regarded, as come from God himself.

The God, whom the Jews, and Christians have ever worshipped, hath nothing in common with the divinities, full of imperfection, and even of vice, whom the rest of the world adored. Our God is a God, infinite, perfect, alone worthy to avenge wickedness, and to crown virtue, because He alone is holiness itself.

He is infinitely above that first cause, and first mover, whom the philosophers have owned, yet without adoring. Those of them who have been widest of the mark, have set forth to us a God, who, finding matter eternal and self-existent, as well as himself, took and fashioned it as a common artist, cramped in his work by that matter, and its dispositions, which he did not make: without ever being able to comprehend, that if

matter is from itself, it was not to expect its perfection from a foreign hand, and that, if God is infinite and perfect, He stood in no need of any thing but Himself, and his own Almighty will, to make whatsoever He pleased. But the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God, whose wonders Moses hath recorded to us, did not only put the world in order, but made it entirely both in its matter and form. Until he gave being, nothing had it but himself only. He is represented to us as the maker of all things, and as making all things by the word of his power, as well because He makes all things by reason, as because He makes all things without any trouble; and the performance of so great works costs Him but a single word, that is, it costs Him but to will it.

Now, to pursue the history of the creation, since we have begun it, Moses hath taught us, that this mighty architect, whose works cost Him so little, has been pleased to perform them at several times, and to create the universe in six days, to show that he does not act by necessity, or a blind impetuosity, as some philosophers have imagined. The sun darts forth at once, and without reserve, all the rays it has; but God, who acts by understanding, and with a sovereign liberty, applies his power where He pleases, and how far He pleases: and as in making the world by his word, He shows that nothing is hard to Him; so by making it at different times, He demonstrates, that He is master of his matter, of his action, of his whole undertaking; and that He has, in acting, no other rule than his own will, ever infallibly right in itself.

This conduct of God lets us see also, that every thing proceeds immediately from His hand. The nations and philosophers, who have believed, that the earth, mixed with the water, and assisted, if you will, by the heat of the sun, had, of itself, and by its own fruitfulness, produced the plants and animals, have most grossly erred. The scripture hath given us to understand, that the elements are barren, if the word

of God do not render them fruitful. Neither the earth, nor the water, nor the air, would ever have had the plants and animals we see in them, if God, who had made and prepared their matter, had not also formed it by his Almighty will, and given to every thing the seed proper for its multiplication in all ages.

Those who see the plants derive their spring and growth from the sun's genial heat, might possibly be apt to fancy that he is the creator of them. But the scripture exhibits to us the earth clothed with grass and all manner of plants, before ever the sun was created, that so we may conceive that every thing depends on God alone.

It pleased the great artificer to create the light, even before He reduced it to the form He gave it in the sun and stars; because he meant to teach us, that those great and glorious luminaries, of which some have thought fit to make deities, had in themselves, neither that precious and shining matter, whereof they were composed, nor that admirable form, to which we see them reduced.

In short, the account we have from Moses of the creation, discovers to us this great secret of true philosophy, that in God alone dwells all fullness and absolute power. Happy, wise, Almighty, alone self-sufficient, He acts without necessity, as He acts without need; never confined or cramped by matter, but makes of it what he pleases; because He it is, who hath given it, by his sole will and pleasure, the foundation of its being. By this sovereign right He turns it, He moulds it, He moves it, without any sort of difficulty: all depends upon Him: and if, according to the order established in nature, one thing depends on another, as, for instance, the rise and progress of plants, upon the heat of the sun, it is by reason that the same God, who made all the parts of the universe, hath been pleased to link them to one another, and to display his wisdom by the wonderful concatenation.

But all that the holy scripture teacheth us concern-

ing the creation of the universe, is nothing in comparison of what it says of the creation of man.

Hitherto God had done all in a commanding way:

Gen. i. *Let there be light: let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters; let the waters be gathered together unto one place; let the dry land appear, and let it bring forth: let there be great lights, to divide the day from the night; let the waters bring forth fowl and fish: let the earth bring forth living creatures, after their several kinds.*

But when he comes to the producing of man, Moses

Gen. i. 26. makes him talk in a new style: *Let us make man*, saith He, *in our image, after our likeness.*

It is no longer that authoritative word of command, but one more mild, though no less efficacious. God holds council in Himself: God excites himself, as it were, to signify to us, that the work he is now setting about, surpasses all the works he had till then performed.

Let us make man. God speaks within Himself; He speaks to some one who makes as well as He, to some one, of whom man is the creature and image; He speaks to another self; He speaks to Him, by whom all things were made, to Him, who saith in his

John v. 19. gospel, *Whatsoever things the Father doth, these also doth the Son likewise.* In speaking to his Son, or with his Son, He speaks at the same time, with the Almighty Spirit, equal to, and co-eternal with both.

It is a thing unknown in all the scripture language, that any other than God hath ever spoke of himself in the plural number; *Let us make.* God himself doth not speak thus above two or three times in scripture: and this extraordinary style begins to appear, when He goes about the creation of man.

When God changes his language, and, in some sort, his conduct too, it is not that he changes in Himself; but He shows us, that he is going to begin according to his eternal councils, a new order of things.

Thus man, so highly exalted above all the other creatures, whose generation Moses had described to

us, is produced in a method entirely new. The Trinity begins to declare itself, in making a reasonable creature, whose intellectual operations are an imperfect image of those eternal operations whereby God is fruitful in Himself.

The word of counsel, which God makes use of, denotes, that the creature, which is about to be made, is the only one, that can act by counsel and understanding. All the rest is no less extraordinary. Till now we had not seen, in the history of Genesis, the finger of God applied to corruptible matter. But to form the body of man, Himself takes earth; and that earth moulded by such a hand, receives the most beautiful figure, that hath ever yet appeared in the world. Gen. ii. 7.

That particular attention which appears in God, when he is making of man, shows us, that he has a particular regard for him, though every thing else be immediately conducted by his wisdom.

But the manner in which he produces the soul, is far more wonderful: he does not extract it from matter; he inspires it from above: it is a breath of life, that proceeds forth from himself.

When He created the beasts, He said, *Let the water bring forth fishes;* and after this manner He created the sea-monsters, and every moving creature that hath life, that was to fill the waters. He said also, *Let the earth bring forth every living creature, cattle, and creeping thing.* Thus were to spring those living souls, of a brutish and bestial life, to whom God allots no other sphere of action, than some motions dependent on the body. God calls them forth from the womb of the waters, and of the earth; but that soul, whose life was to be an imitation of his own, which was to live as himself by reason and understanding, which was to be united to Him, by contemplating and loving Him, and which on that account was made in his image, could not be derived from matter. God, in fashioning matter, may well form a beautiful Gen. i. 20. Ibid. 24.

body, but turn or fashion it how He will, He never will find in it his own image and likeness. The soul, made after his image and capable of being happy in the enjoyment of Him, must be produced by a new creation; it must come from above; and this is what is signified by that breath of life, which God breathes from his mouth.

Let us always remember, that Moses set forth to carnal men, by sensible images, pure and intellectual truths.

Let us not fancy that God breathes after the manner of animals. Let us not fancy that our soul is a subtle air, or thin vapour. The breath, which God inspires, and which bears in itself the image of God, is neither air nor vapour. Let us not believe, that our soul is a portion of the divine nature, as some philosophers have dreamed. God is not a whole that can be divided. Though God should have parts, they would not be created ones. For the creator, the uncreated being, could not be composed of creatures. The soul is made, and so made that it is no part of the divine nature; but only a substance made after the *image* and likeness of the divine nature; a substance, that is ever to continue united to Him that formed it. This is the meaning of that divine breathing; this is what that breath of life represents to us.

Behold, then, man formed! God forms also out of him, the companion He is pleased to give him. All men spring from one marriage, in order to be for ever but one and the same family, however dispersed or multiplied.

Our first parents, thus formed, are placed in that delightful garden, which is called paradise: God owed to himself to make his image happy.

He gives a command to man, to let him know, that he hath a master; a command relating to a sensible thing, because man was made with senses; an easy command, because he would render his life as comfortable, as it should be innocent.

Man does not keep a precept of so easy observance

he hearkens to the tempting spirit, and to himself, instead of hearkening to God only: his fall is inevitable; but we must consider it in its origin, as well as in its consequences.

God had, at the beginning, made his angels pure spirits, and distinct from all matter. He who makes nothing but what is good, had created them all in holiness, and they had it in their power to secure their felicity, by a voluntary submission to their creator. But whatever is derived from nothing is defective. A part of those angels suffered themselves to be seduced by self-love. Wo to the creature that delights in itself, and not in God! it loses in a moment all its gifts. Strange effect of sin! those spirits of light became spirits of darkness: they had no longer any light, but what turned to malicious cunning. A malignant envy now took place of love: their native greatness now was only pride; their happiness was changed into the dismal comfort of getting themselves companions in their misery, and their former blessed exercises to the execrable employment of tempting men. The most perfect of them all, who had also been the most proud, proved the most mischievous, as he was the most miserable. Man, *whom God had made a little lower than the angels*, by uniting him to a body, became an object of jealousy to so perfect a spirit: he wanted to draw him into his rebellion, that he might afterwards involve him in his destruction. Let us hear how he bespeaks him, and dive to the bottom of his artifices. He addresses himself to Eve, as the weaker vessel: but in the person of Eve, he speaks to her husband as well as to her: *Yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?* If He hath made you reasonable creatures, you ought to know the reason of every thing: this fruit is not poison: *Ye shall not surely die:* Behold, how the spirit of revolt begins! The command is disputed, and the obedience is brought into doubt. *Ye shall be as gods*, free and independent, happy in yourselves, and wise through

Psal. viii.

Gen. iii. 1.

Ibid. 3.

Ibid. 5.

yourselves; *ye shall know good and evil:* nothing shall be impenetrable to you. By these persuasive arguments does the deluding spirit set himself up against the creator's order, and above his rule. Eve, half-gained, looks upon the fruit, whose beauty promised
Gen. iii. 6. a pleasant taste. Finding that God had united in man a soul and body, she thought, that in favour of man, he might possibly have also annexed to plants supernatural virtues, and intellectual gifts to sensible objects. After eating of this beautiful fruit, she presented of it also to her husband. Behold him dangerously attacked! Example and complaisance add strength to the temptation: he is beguiled into the sentiments of the tempter, so powerfully backed; a deceitful curiosity, a flattering thought of pride, the secret thought of acting spontaneous, and according to one's own inclinations, allure and blind him: he is willing to make a dangerous trial of his liberty, and tastes, with the forbidden fruit, the pernicious sweets of pleasing his fancy; the senses mingle their allurements with this new charm, he follows them, he submits to them, he makes himself their slave, who was before their master.

At the same time every thing changes to him. The earth smiles no longer upon him as formerly; he shall have no more from thence, but by the sweat of his brow; the sky has no more that serenity of air: the animals, which all, even the most odious and fierce, were wont to afford him an innocent pastime, assume to him hideous forms. God, who had made every thing for his happiness, turns every thing in a moment
Gen. iii. 7. into his punishment. He is a burden to himself, who had enjoyed such self complacency. The rebellion of his senses makes him observe in himself somewhat shameful. It is no more that first work of the creator, in which all was comely. Sin hath made a new work, that needeth to be hid. Man can no longer support his shame, and would fain cover it from his own eyes. But God becomes still more insupportable to him.

That great God, who had made him after his likeness, and had given him senses, as a necessary help to his understanding, was pleased, sometimes, to show himself to him under a sensible form: man can no longer endure his presence. He seeks the deepest recesses [Ibid. 8.] of the woods, to hide himself from the presence of him, who formerly was his whole happiness. His conscience accuses him before ever God speaks. His woful excuses complete his confusion. He must die: the remedy of immortality is taken from him, and a more dreadful death, namely, that of the soul, is figured to him by that bodily death, to which he is condemned. But behold our sentence virtually pronounced in his! God who had resolved to reward his obedience in all his posterity, the moment he fell from it, condemns and smites him, not only in his own person, but also in all his children, as in the most tender and dearest part of himself: we are all cursed in our first principle: our birth is tainted and infected in its source.

Let us not here pretend to examine those terrible rules of divine justice, by which the human race is cursed in its original. Let us adore the judgments of God, who looks upon all men as one, in him, from whom he means to make all proceed. Let us also look upon ourselves as degraded in our rebellious parent, as stigmatized for ever by the sentence, that dooms him, as banished with him, and excluded paradise, which he ought to have preserved for our birthplace.

The rules of human justice may help us to enter into the depths of divine justice, whereof they are a shadow: but they can never discover to us the bottom of that abyss. Let us believe that the justice, as well as mercy of God, will not be measured by those of men, and that both have effects far more extensive and profound.

But whilst God's severities upon mankind alarm us, let us admire, how he turns our eyes to a more agreea-

Gen. iii. 14, 15. ble object. Under the figure of the serpent, whose crooked windings were a lively image of the dangerous insinuations, and fallacious devices of the evil spirit, God shows our mother Eve her enemy vanquished, and points out to her that blessed seed, which was to *bruise her vanquisher's head*, that is, to humble his pride, and pull down his empire, over the whole earth. This blessed seed was Jesus Christ, the son of a virgin; that Jesus Christ, in whom alone Adam had not sinned, because he was to spring from Adam in a divine manner, and to be conceived, not by man, but by the Holy Ghost.

But before the Saviour should be given us, it was fit mankind should by a long experience know, the need they had of such a succour. Man was then left to himself, his inclinations became corrupt, his enormities went beyond all bounds, and iniquity covered the whole face of the earth.

Then God meditated a vengeance, the remembrance of which he resolved should never be blotted out from among men: that of the universal flood, the memory of which accordingly is still lasting in all nations, as well as that of the wickedness which occasioned it.

Let men no longer fancy, that the world moves alone; and that what has been, shall always be, as being of itself. God, who hath made all things, and by whom all things subsist, is about to drown both man and beast; that is, he is about to destroy the most beautiful part of his work.

He had need of nothing, besides himself, to destroy what he had made, by a word: but he judged it more worthy of him to make his creatures the instrument of his vengeance, and he calls the waters to ravage the land already overflowed with wickedness.

There was found in it however, one just man. God, before he saved him from the deluge of waters, had preserved him by his grace from the deluge of iniquity. His family was reserved to replenish the earth, which was about to be but one immense soli-

tude. By the cares of that righteous person, God saves the animals, that so man may understand, they are made for him, and subjected to his dominion by their creator.

The world becomes new again, and the earth once more rises out of the bosom of the waters; but in this new world there remains an eternal impression of the divine vengeance. Until the flood, all nature was stronger, and more vigorous; by that immense body of waters, which God brought upon the earth, and by their long continuance on it, the juices it contained were altered; the air, clogged with an excessive moisture, strengthened the principles of corruption; and the old constitution of the world being thus weakened, the human life, which before would run to near a thousand years, gradually decreased: herbs and fruits had no longer their former strength, and there was a necessity for giving men a more substantial food in the flesh of animals.

Thus by degrees were to disappear and wear out the remains of the primitive institution; and nature changed gave man intimation, that God was no more the same to him, since he had been provoked by so many crimes.

Moreover, that long life of the primitive men recorded in the annals of the people of God, has not been unknown to other nations, and their ancient traditions have preserved the memory of it. Death advancing with swifter steps, caused men to feel a speedier vengeance; and as they daily plunged deeper and deeper into wickedness, it was fit they should be likewise, so to speak, daily plunged deeper in their punishment. Maneth Berof. Hestiæ. Nic. Damas. & al apud Joseph Ant. 1. 4. Hesiod. Op. & di.

The single change of diet might have intimated to them, how much their state was growing worse, since by becoming weaker, they at the same time became more voracious and bloody. Before the time of the deluge, the food men found without violence in the fruits, which fell of their own accord, and in the herbs,

which also dried so fast, was, doubtless, some remain of the primitive innocence, and of the mildness to which we were formed. Now for our nourishment we must spill blood, in spite of the horror it naturally excites in us; and all the refinements we make use of to cover our tables, are scarce sufficient to disguise to us the carcases we must devour to satisfy us.

But that is the smallest part of our misfortunes. Life, already shortened, is still more abridged by the violences introducing among mankind. Man, whom we saw in the primitive times sparing the life of beasts, grows now accustomed not to spare even that of his fellow-creatures. In vain did God, presently after the deluge, forbid the shedding of human blood: in vain, to preserve some vestiges of the mildness of our nature, while he allowed to eat the flesh of beasts, had he reserved the blood. Murders multiplied without measure. It is true, that before the flood Cain had sacrificed his brother to his jealousy. Lamech, sprung from Cain, had committed the second murder, and we may believe that more were committed after those damnable examples. But wars were not yet invented. It was after the deluge, that appeared those ravagers of provinces, called conquerors, who, incited by the sole glory of command, have exterminated so many innocent persons.

Gen. ix. 4.

Gen. iv. 8.

Ibid. 23.

Nimrod, a cursed spawn of Ham, who was cursed by his father, began the making of war, only to establish an empire to himself. From that time ambition hath wantonly sported with the lives of men: nay, they came the length of killing each other in cold blood: the height of glory, and the most noble of all arts, was to put one another to death.

Gen. x. 8.

Such were the beginnings of the world, as the history of Moses represents them to us: beginnings happy at first, but afterwards big with mischiefs: with respect to God, who makes all things ever admirable; such, in short, that we learn by revolving them in our mind, to consider the universe and mankind ever un-

der the hand of the creator, brought out of nothing by his word, preserved by his goodness, governed by his wisdom, punished by his justice, delivered by his mercy, and ever subject to his power.

This is not the universe philosophers have conceived it, formed, according to some, by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, or which, according to the wisest of them, furnished its matter to its author, which consequently depends on him, neither in the essence of its being, nor first estate, and ties him up to certain laws, which himself cannot violate.

Moses, and our ancient fathers, whose traditions Moses hath collected, afford us other notions. The God he hath declared to us, hath a very different power: he can do and undo just as he pleases; he giveth laws to nature, and abrogates them when he will.

If, in order to make himself known in times, when the greatest part of men had forgot him, He wrought astonishing miracles, and forced nature to recede from her most constant laws. He, by so doing, continued to demonstrate, that He was her absolute master, and that his will is the only bond, that keeps up the order of the world.

And this was just what men had forgot: the stability of so beautiful an order served now only to persuade them, that that order had ever been, and that it was from itself: whereby they were prompted to worship either the world in general, or the stars, the elements, and, in short, all those great bodies which compose it. God hath therefore shown to mankind a goodness worthy of himself, in reversing, upon remarkable occasions, that order, which not only no longer struck them, because they were accustomed to it, but which even prompted them, so grossly were they blinded, to imagine eternity and independence elsewhere than in God.

The history of the people of God attested by its own progression, and by the religion, as well of those who wrote it, as of those, who have preserved it with so much care, has kept, as in a faithful register, the

memory of those miracles, and gives us thereby a true idea of the supreme dominion of God, Almighty master of his creatures, whether to hold them subject to the general laws he hath established, or to give them others, when he judges it necessary by some surprising stroke to awaken sleeping mankind.

Such is the God, whom Moses hath proposed to us in his writings, as the only one we ought to serve; such the God, whom the patriarchs worshipped before ever Moses was; in a word, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; to whom our father Abraham was willing to offer up his only son; of whom Melchisedec, the type of Jesus Christ, was high priest; to whom our father Noah sacrificed, upon coming out of the ark; whom righteous Abel had acknowledged in offering to him of his most precious substance; whom Seth, given to Adam instead of Abel, had made known to his children, called also the children of God; whom Adam himself had set forth to his descendants, as him, out of whose hands he had lately come, and who alone could put an end to the woes of his unhappy posterity.

O excellent philosophy, which gives us such pure ideas of the author of our being! Excellent tradition, that preserves to us the memory of his glorious works! How holy the people of God, since by an uninterrupted succession, from the foundation of the world down to our days, they have ever preserved so holy a tradition and philosophy!

II. Abraham, and the patriarchs.

But as the people of God began under the patriarch Abraham, to take a more regular form, it will be necessary, Sir, to dwell with you a little upon that great man.

He was born about three hundred and fifty years after the flood, at a time, when human life, though reduced to narrower limits, was still very long. Noah was but just dead; Shem his eldest son was yet alive, and Abraham might have passed the most of his days with him.

Figure then to yourself the world still new, and still, so to speak, drenched in the waters of the deluge, when men, so near the origin of things, had no occasion, in order to know the unity of God, and the service that was due to him, for any thing but the tradition which had been preserved of it from Adam and Noah: a tradition otherwise so conformable to the light of reason, that one would have thought so clear and important a truth could never have been darkened or forgotten among men. Such is the first state of religion, which continued down to Abraham, when to know the greatness of God, men had only to consult their reason and memory.

But reason was weak and corrupted, and proportionably as men removed further from the origin of things, they confounded the ideas they had received from their ancestors. The untoward, or ill-taught children would no longer believe their old decrepit grand-sires, whom they scarcely knew after so many generations; human sense brutified, (if I may be allowed the term) could rise no more to intellectual objects, and men choosing no longer to worship aught but what they saw, idolatry diffused itself over the whole world.

The spirit, who had beguiled the first man, tasted now, the full fruit of his seduction, and beheld the complete effect of his saying, *ye shall be as gods*. From the moment he uttered it, he designed to confound in men the idea of God with that of the creature, and to divide a name, whose majesty consists in being incommunicable. His scheme succeeded. Men swallowed up in flesh and blood, had, however, preserved an obscure idea of the divine power, which maintained itself by its own force; but being blended with the image, that entered by their senses, made them fall down and worship all things in which there appeared any activity or power. Thus the sun and stars, which made their influences felt at such a distance, the fire and elements, whose effects were so universal, became

the first objects of public adoration. The great kings and conquerors, who were so mighty in the earth, and the authors of inventions useful to human life, had soon after divine honours paid them. Men subjected themselves to the tyranny of their senses; the senses decided every thing, and made, in spite of reason, all the gods that were adored upon earth.

How widely distant did man now seem from his first institution! And how was the image of God defaced in him! Could God have made him with those perverse inclinations, that were daily more and more declaring themselves? And did not that amazing propensity he had to submit to every thing but his natural Lord, betray too visibly the strange hand, by which God's workmanship had been so deeply altered in the human mind, that scarce could any trace of it be found? Driven by that blind impulse which swayed him, he hurried into idolatry, nor was any thing able to stop his career. So great an evil made a wonderful progress. But lest it should infect all mankind, and utterly extinguish the knowledge of God, that great God, called from on high his servant Abraham, in whose family he meant to establish his worship, and preserve the ancient belief, as well of the creation of the universe, as of the particular providence, with which he governs human things.

Abraham has ever been celebrated in the east. It is not only the Hebrews that look upon him as their father: the Idumeans boast the same original. Ishmael, the son of Abraham, is known among the Arabians, as the fountain from whence they sprung. Circumcision is continued with them, as the mark of their origin, and they have at all times received it, not on the eighth day, after the manner of the Jews, but at their thirteenth year, as the scripture informs us, it was given to their father Ishmael; a custom which still prevails among the Mahometans. Other Arabian nations commemorate Abraham and Keturah, and they are the same the scripture derives from that

Gen. xvi. 16.

Joseph. Ant. i. 34

Gen. xvii. 25

Alex. Polyh. apud Joseph. Ant. ii. 61. Beros. Hc.

marriage. This patriarch was a Chaldean, and those people, famed for their astronomical observations, have counted Abraham as one of their most learned observers. The Syrian historians have made him king of Damascus, though a stranger, and come from the confines of Babylon, and they tell that he quitted the kingdom of Damascus, in order to settle in the country of the Canaanites, afterwards called Judea. But it is better worth while to observe what the history of the people of God relates to us concerning this great man. We have seen, that Abraham followed the kind of life, which the ancients did before all the world was reduced into kingdoms. He reigned in his family, with which he embraced that pastoral life, so noted for its simplicity and innocence; rich in flocks, in slaves, and in money; but without lands, and without inheritance, and yet he lived in a foreign kingdom, respected, and independent as a prince. His piety and integrity, protected by God, won him this respect. He treated as an equal with kings, who courted his alliance, and thence came to the ancient opinion, that he made himself a king. Though his life was simple and peaceful, he knew how to make war, but only in defence of his oppressed allies. He defended them, and revenged them by a signal victory. He restored them all their riches, retaken from the enemies, without reserving any thing, but the tithe, which he offered to God, and the portion that belonged to the auxiliary troops which he had carried to battle. Moreover, after so great a service, he refused to receive the presents of the kings with an unparalleled magnanimity, and could not endure that any man should boast, *he had made Abraham rich.* He would owe nothing but to God who protected him, and whom alone he followed with perfect faith and obedience.

Guided by that faith he had left his native country, to come into a land which God showed him. God,

Cat. Eup. Alex. Polyh. and al. apud. Jos. ant. l. i. c. 8. & Eus. præp. Ev. ix. 16. 17. 18. 19. & xiii 11. Nic. Damas. lib. iv. Hist. univ. in excerpt. Val. p. 494. & ap. Jos. Ant. l. viii. c. 8. & Eus. præp. Ev. ix. 16.

Gen. xiii. &c.

Gen. xvi. 20. &c.

Gen. xxxiii. 9.

Gen. xii. &c

who had called him, and rendered him worthy of his covenant, concluded it upon these conditions.

Gen. xvii. 8, 9. He declared to him that he would be his God, and the God of his children, that is, that he would be their protector, and that they should serve him as the only God, creator of heaven and earth.

Ibid. He promised *to him and to his seed after him, a land* (namely that of Canaan) *for an everlasting possession*, and for the seat of religion.

Gen. xii. 2. xv. 4, 5. xvii. 19. Now Abraham had no children, and Sarah his wife was barren. God sware to him by himself, and by his eternal truth, that of him and that woman should spring a nation, that should equal the stars of heaven, and the sand of the sea for multitude.

But here comes the most memorable article of the divine promise. All nations were running headlong into idolatry. God promised to the holy patriarch, that in him, and in his seed, all those blinded nations, which had forgot their creator, should be blessed, that is, restored to the knowledge of him, wherein alone true blessing is to be found.

Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18.

By this saying Abraham is made father of the faithful, and his posterity is chosen to be the source, whence the blessing is to flow throughout the whole earth.

In this promise was included the coming of the Messiah, so often foretold to our fathers, but always foretold as him, who was to be the saviour of the Gentiles, and of all the nations of the world.

Thus that blessed seed promised to Eve, became also the seed and offspring of Abraham.

Such is the foundation of the covenant; such its conditions. Abraham received the token of it in circumcision, a ceremony, the proper effect of which was to signify, that that holy man belonged to God with all his family.

Gen. xvii.

Abraham was childless when God began to bless his race. God gave him no seed for several years. Afterwards he had Ishmael, who was to be father of

Gen. xv. 2. xvi. 34. xvii. 20.

a great nation, but not of that chosen people so long promised to Abraham. The father of the chosen people was to spring from him, and his wife Sarah, who was barren. At length, thirteen years after Ishmael, came that so long wished for child: he was named Isaac, that is *laughter*, a child of joy, a child of miracle, a child of promise who shows by his birth, that the true children of God are born of grace. Gen. xxi. 13. Gen. xxi.

This blessed child was now grown up, and of an age in which his father might expect other children by him, when all of a sudden God commanded him to offer him up. To what trials is faith exposed! Abraham carried Isaac to the mountain which God had told him of, and was going to sacrifice that son, in whom alone, God promised to make him father both of his people and of the Messiah. Isaac presented his bosom to the knife, which his father held ready to pierce it. God, satisfied with the obedience of both father and son, wants no more of them. After these two great men had given the world so lively and beautiful a type of the voluntary oblation of Jesus Christ, and tasted in spirit the bitterness of the cross, they are judged truly worthy to be his ancestors. The faithfulness of Abraham makes God confirm to him all his promises, and bless anew not only his family, but also in his family, all the nations of the earth. Gen. xxii. Gen. xxii. 18.

Accordingly, he continued his protection to Isaac his son, and Jacob his grandson. They were imitators of him, adhering like him to the primitive faith, to the primitive way of life, which was the pastoral, to the primitive government of mankind, where every father of a family was prince in his house. Thus, amidst the changes daily introducing among men, holy antiquity revived in religion, and in the behaviour of Abraham and his children.

Therefore God repeated to Isaac and to Jacob, the promises he had made to Abraham; and as he had called himself the God of Abraham, he took also the name of the God of Isaac, and of the God of Jacob. Gen. xxv. 11. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 13, 14.

Under his protection those three great men begun to sojourn in the land of Canaan: but only as strangers, and without possessing *a foot of land* in it; till the famine drew Jacob into Egypt, where his children multiplying, soon became a great nation as God had promised.

Acts, vii. v.

Moreover, though that people whom God caused to be born in his covenant, was to be propagated by generation, and though the blessing was to follow the blood, that great God, nevertheless, manifested in them the election of his grace. For, after having chosen Abraham from amidst the nations, among the children of Abraham he chose Isaac, and of Isaac's twins he chose Jacob, to whom he gave the name of Israel.

Jacob had twelve children, who were the twelve patriarchs, heads of the twelve tribes. They all were to enter into the covenant: but Judah was chosen among all his brethren, to be father of the kings of Israel, and father of the Messiah, so long promised to his ancestors.

The time was to come, that ten tribes being cut off from the people of God, for their infidelity, the posterity of Abraham should preserve their primitive blessing, that is, religion, the land of Canaan, and the hopes of the Messiah, only in the tribe of Judah, which was to give name to the rest of the Israelites, who were called Jews and to the whole country which was named Judea.

Thus the divine election appears still, even in that carnal people, who were to be preserved by ordinary propagation.

Jacob saw in spirit the secret of this election. When he was about to die, and his children around his bed were craving the blessing of so good a father, God discovered to him the state of the twelve tribes, when they should be in the promised land: he unfolded it in a few words, and those few words contain innumerable mysteries.

Gen. xlix.

Though all he says of Judah's brethren be expressed with an extraordinary dignity, and bespeaks a man transported beyond himself by the spirit of God; yet when he comes to Judah, he rises still higher. *Judah,* says he, *thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies: thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion: who shall rouse him up? The sceptre,* (that is, the authority,) *shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be:* or, according to another reading, which is, perhaps, no less ancient, but which in the main differs nothing from this, *until he come, for whom things are reserved,* and the rest as we have above recited it. Gen. xlix. 8.

The sequel of the prophecy literally refers to the country which the tribe of Judah was to possess in the holy land. But the former part of it, take it how we will, can signify nothing else, than Him, who was to be the son of God, the minister and interpreter of his will, the accomplishment of his promises, and the king of the new people, that is, the Messiah, or the Lord's anointed.

Jacob speaks of him expressly to Judah only, from whom that Messiah was to spring: he comprehends in the destiny of Judah alone that of the whole nation, which, after its dispersion, was to see the remnant of the other tribes re-united under Judah's standards.

All the terms of the prophecy are clear: there is only the word *sceptre,* which the custom of our language might make us take for the royalty alone; whereas, in the sacred language, it signifies, in general, power, authority, magistracy. This use of the word is to be met with in every page of scripture: it appears even manifestly in Jacob's prophecy; and the patriarch means, that in the days of the Messiah all

authority should cease in the house of Judah, which implies the total overthrow of a state.

Thus the times of the Messiah are marked out here by a double change. By the first the kingdom of Judah, and of the Jewish nation, is threatened with its final ruin. By the second, there is to arise a new kingdom, not only of one people, but of all nations, of whom the Messiah is to be the head and hope.

Is. lxv. etc. Rom. x. 19. etc. Is. ii. 2. xlix. 6. 18. ii. 4. 5. etc.

In scripture style, the Jewish people is called in the singular number, and by way of eminence, *the people*, or, *the people of God;* and when we find *many people*, or, *the nations*, those who are versed in the scriptures, understand the other nations, who had been also promised to the Messiah in the prophecy of Jacob.

That great prophecy comprehends, in a few words, the whole history of the Jewish people, and of the Christ, who is promised to them. It points out the whole progress of the people of God, nor is its effect yet ceased.

But I do not intend to make you a commentary upon it: you will have no occasion for that, since by barely observing the progress of the people of God, you will see the sense of the oracle unfolded of itself, and simple events shall be its interpreters.

III. Moses, or the written law, and the introduction of the people into the promised land.

After the death of Jacob, the people of God sojourned in Egypt, till the time of the mission of Moses, that is, about two hundred years.

Thus 430 years passed away, before God gave his people the land he had promised them.

He meant to accustom his elect to rely upon his promise, with firm confidence, that it would be fulfilled sooner or later, and always in the time appointed by his eternal providence.

Gen. xv. 16.

The iniquity of the Amorites, whose land and spoils he resolved to give them, was not yet, as he declares to Abraham, come to the height for which he waited, in order to deliver them up to the severe and unpitying vengeance, that he intended to wreak upon them by the hands of his chosen people.

It was fit to give this people time to multiply, so as to be in a condition to fill the land, that was destined them, and to take possession of it by force, by exterminating its inhabitants accursed of God. Gen. xv. 16.

He was willing that they should undergo in Egypt a hard and insupportable captivity, that when delivered by unheard of wonders, they might love their deliverer, and eternally celebrate his mercies.

Such was the order of God's counsels, as he himself hath revealed them, in order to teach us to fear Him, to adore Him, to love Him, and to wait for Him with faith and patience.

The time being arrived, he hears the cries of his people cruelly afflicted by the Egyptians, and sends Moses to deliver his children from their tyranny.

He makes himself known to that great man, more than he had ever done to any man living. He appears to him in a manner equally glorious and comforting: he declares to him, that he is He, who is. All that is before him is but a shadow. *I am*, says he, *that I am*: being and perfection belong to Me alone. He assumes a new name, which denotes being and life in Him as in their source; and it is, under that great name of God, terrible, mysterious, incommunicable, that he will henceforth be served. Exod. iii. Ibid. iii. 14.

I shall not give you a particular detail of the plagues of Egypt, or of the hardness of Pharaoh's heart, or of the passage of the Red Sea, or of the thunderings, lightnings, noise of the trumpet, or of the smoke that was seen by the people on Mount Sinai. God there wrote with his own hand, upon two tables of stone, the fundamental precepts of religion and society: he dictated the rest to Moses with a loud voice. To maintain this law in its full force, he had orders to form a venerable assembly of seventy elders, which might be called the senate of the people of God, and the perpetual council of the nation. God appeared publicly, and caused his law to be published in his Exod. xx. 19. Exod. xxv. Numb ix.

presence, with an astonishing demonstration of his majesty and power.

Till then God had given nothing in writing, that could be a rule to man. The children of Abraham had only circumcision, and the ceremonies, that accompanied it, as a token of the covenant, which God had made with that chosen race. They were distinguished by this token from the nations that worshiped false deities: moreover, they preserved themselves in God's covenant, by the remembrance they had of the promises made to their fathers, and were known as a people, who served the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. God was so strangely forgot, that it was necessary to distinguish him by the name of those who had been his worshipers, and of whom he was also the declared protector.

This great God would no longer leave to the bare memory of men the mysteries, of religion, and of his covenant. It was time to set stronger barriers to idolatry, which was overflowing all mankind, and like to extinguish totally the remains of natural light.

Ignorance and blindness had prodigiously increased in the days of Abraham. In his time, and a little after, the knowledge of God appeared also in Palestine and in Egypt. Melchizedek, king of Salem, was
Gen. xiv. 18, 19. *the priest of the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth.* Abimelech king of Gerar, and his successor of the same name, feared God, sware by his name,
Gen. xxi. 22, 23. and admired his power. The threatenings of this
xxvi. 28, 29. great God were dreaded by Pharaoh, king of Egypt: but in Moses's time, those nations were perverted.
Gen. xii. 17, 18. The true God was no more known in Egypt, as the
Exod. v. 1, 2, 3. God of all the nations of the world, but as the God of the Hebrews. Men worshiped the very beasts and
ix. 1, &c. Exod. viii 26. reptiles. Every thing was god, but God himself; and the world which God had made to manifest his power, seemed to have become a temple of idols. Mankind went so grossly astray, as to worship their own vices and passions; nor must we be astonished at it. There

was no power more unavoidable, or more tyrannical than theirs. Man, accustomed to think every thing divine, that was powerful, as he felt himself drawn to vice by an irresistible force, came easily to believe that force without him, and soon made a God of it.

Thence it was that unchaste love had so many altars, and that the most horrid impurities began to be mingled with the sacrifices. Levit. xx, 2, 3.

Cruelty entered into them at the same time. Guilty man, racked with the sense of his wickedness, and looking upon the deity as an enemy, thought he could not appease him with ordinary victims. He must shed human blood along with that of beasts: a blind fear drove fathers to offer up their children, and to burn them to their gods instead of incense. These sacrifices were common in the days of Moses, and made but a part of those horrible iniquities of the Amorites, whose vengeance God committed to the Israelites.

But they were not peculiar to those people. It is well known, that in all nations of the world, without excepting one, men have sacrificed their fellow creatures; and there is not a place on the face of the earth where they have not served some of those dismal and shocking deities, whose implacable hatred to mankind required such sort of victims. Herod. l. ii. Cæs. de bell. Gal. vi. Diod. lib. i. v. Plin. lib. xxx. Athen. lib. xiii. Porph. de Abst. lib. ii. Jorn. de reb. Get. &c.

Amidst so much ignorance, man came to worship the very work of his own hands. He thought himself able to lodge divinity in statues, and so profoundly forgot that God had made him, that he thought in his turn he might make a god. Who could believe it, did not experience convince us, that so stupid and brutal an error was not only the most universal, but even the most inveterate and incorrigible among men. Thus we must own, to the confusion of mankind, that the first truths, that truth which the world proclaims, that truth, whose impression is the most powerful, was now the farthest from the sight of man. Tradition, which preserved it in their minds, though yet clear, and sufficiently present with them, had they been at-

tentive to it, was ready to vanish away; monstrous fables, as full of impiety as extravagance, assumed its place. The moment was come, when the truth, so ill kept in the memory of men, could no longer be preserved but by writing: and God having, moreover, resolved to form his people to virtue by laws more expressly, and in greater number, he resolved at the same time to give them in writing.

Moses was called to this work. That great man collected the the history of past ages, those of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and that of Joseph, or, rather that of God himself, and of his wondrous acts.

He had no need to dig very deep for the traditions of his ancestors. He was born an hundred years after the death of Jacob. The old men of his time might have conversed several years with that holy patriarch: the memory of Joseph, and of the wonders God had done by that great minister of the kings of Egypt, was still fresh. Two or three men's lives reached as far back as Noah, who had seen the children of Adam, and touched, so to speak, the origin of things.

Thus the ancient traditions of mankind, and those of Abraham's family, were not hard to recollect: the memory of them was yet alive, and we need not wonder if Moses, in his Genesis, speaks of things that happened in the first ages as certainties, of which too there were still to be seen remarkable monuments, both in the neighbouring nations, and in the land of Canaan.

Whilst Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had inhabited that land, they had every where erected monuments of the things which had befallen them. There were still to be shown the places where they had inhabited; the wells they had digged in those dry countries, to water their families and flocks; the mountains, whereon they had sacrificed to God, and on which he had appeared to them; the stones they had erected or piled up, for a memorial to posterity; and the tombs, wherein their sacred ashes were deposited.

The memory of those great men was recent, not only in the whole country, but likewise over all the east; where several famous nations have never forgot that they came of their race.

Thus, when the Hebrew people entered the promised land, every thing there celebrated their ancestors; both cities and mountains, nay the very stones there spoke of those wondrous men, and of the astonishing visions, by which God had confirmed them in the primitive and true belief.

They, that are ever so little acquainted with antiquity, know how curious the first times were in erecting and preserving such monuments, and how carefully posterity retained the occasions, on which they had been set up. This was one way of writing history: stones have come since to be fashioned and polished: and statues have succeeded, after pillars, to the gross and solid masses erected in the first times.

We have even great reason to believe, that in the lineage wherein the knowledge of God was preserved, they preserved also in writing, memoirs of ancient times.

For men have never been without this care. At least, it is certain, that a sort of carols or songs were made, which fathers taught their children; and which, being sung at the feasts and assemblies, perpetuated the memory of the most signal actions of past ages.

This gave birth to poetry, varied, in process of time, into several forms, the most ancient of which is still preserved in the odes and hymns used by all the ancients, and even at present by the nations, who have not the use of letters, to praise the deity and great men.

The style of those canticles is bold, uncommon, yet natural, in that it is suited to represent nature in its transports, bounding, for that reason, by quick and impetuous sallies, free from the ordinary ties, which regular discourse requires, at the same time compre-

hended in harmonious numbers which augment its force; it surprises the ear, catches the imagination, moves the heart, and more easily imprints itself upon the memory.

Numb. xxi. 14, 17, 18, 27, &c. Exod. xv. Among all the nations of the world, that in which such songs were most in use, was the people of God. Moses mentions a great many of them, which he denominates by the first verses, because the people knew the rest. He made two of this kind himself. The first sets before our eyes the triumphant passage of the Red Sea, and the enemies of the people of God, some already drowned, and others half dead with fear.

Deut. xxxii. By the second, Moses confounds the ingratitude of the people, by celebrating the goodness and wonders of God. Following ages imitated him. It was God and his wondrous works, that made the subject of the odes they composed: God inspired them himself, and there was properly none but the people of God to whom poetry came by inspiration.

Jacob had pronounced in this mystical language, the oracles, which contained the destiny of his children, that so each tribe might the more easily retain what concerned it, and learn to praise him, who was no less glorious in his predictions, than faithful in their accomplishment.

Such be the means, which God made use of, to preserve down to Moses the memory of things past. That great man, instructed by all these means, and raised above them by the Holy Ghost, hath wrote the works of God, with an exactness and simplicity, which attracts belief and admiration, not to him, but to God himself.

He joined to things past, which contained the origin, and ancient traditions of God's people, the wonders which God actually wrought for their deliverance. Of this he produces to the Israelites no other witness than their own eyes. Moses does not tell them things that passed in impenetrable recesses, and deep winding caves: he does not speak in the clouds: he particularizes,

and circumstantiates every thing, as a man, who is not afraid to be belied. He founds all their laws, and their whole constitution on the wonders they had seen. Those wonders were nothing less than nature changed all of a sudden, upon different occasions, for their deliverance, and for the punishment of their enemies; the sea divided, the dry land disclosed, a heavenly bread, abundant water gushing from the rocks at the stroke of a rod, heavens giving them a visible signal to direct their march, and other like miracles, which they saw for forty years.

The people of Israel were no more intelligent, or more refined than the other nations, who being wholly given up to their senses, could not conceive an invisible God. On the contrary, they were gross and rebellious, as much, or more than any other people. But that God, though invisible in his nature, rendered himself so perceptible by continual miracles, and Moses inculcated them with so much energy, that at last this carnal people suffered themselves to be touched by that pure idea of a God, who made all by his word; of a God, who was only spirit, only reason and intelligence.

In this manner, while idolatry, so greatly increased since Abraham, covered the whole face of the earth, the sole posterity of that patriarch was exempt from it. Their enemies bore them this testimony, and the nations, wherein the truth of tradition was not yet wholly extinguished, cried out with astonishment, *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel: the Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them.* Num. xxiii. 21, 23

In order to imprint on their minds the unity of God, and the perfect uniformity he required in his worship, Moses often repeats, that in the promised land this one God would choose a place, in which alone the feasts, the sacrifices, and the whole public service Deut. xii. 14, 15, 16, 17, &c.

should be performed. In the meantime, till this desired place should be found, while the people wandered in the wilderness, Moses built the tabernacle, a moving temple, where the children of Israel presented their petitions to the God, who had made heaven and earth, and who thought no scorn to journey, if I may so say, along with them, and to be their guide.

Upon this principle of religion, upon this sacred foundation was the whole law built; a law holy, just, and good, wise, provident, and simple, which connected the society of men with one another, by the sacred society of man with God. To these holy institutions he added noble ceremonies, feasts, which recalled the memory of the miracles, whereby the children of Israel had been delivered; and, what no other lawgiver had ever presumed to do, express assurances, that all should go well with them, so long as they lived subject to the law, whereas their disobedience should be pursued with manifest and inevitable vengeance. He must have been warranted by God, to give such a foundation to his laws, and the issue has evinced, that Moses did not speak of his own head.

Deut. xxvii. xxviii. &c.

As to the great number of rites he enjoined the Hebrews, though they now may seem superfluous, they were then necessary, in order to distinguish the people of God from other nations, and served as a barrier to idolatry, lest it should have drawn aside that chosen people along with all the rest.

To maintain religion, and all the traditions of the people of God, among the twelve tribes, one was made choice of, to whom God allotted for its portion, together with the tithes and oblations, the care of sacred things. Levi and his children are themselves consecrated to God, as the tithe of all the people. Out of Levi Aaron is chosen to be high priest, and the priesthood made hereditary in his family.

Thus the altars have their ministers; the law hath its advocates, and the progress of God's people is ten-

tified by the succession of its priests, which goes on without interruption, from Aaron the first of them.

But what was most excellent in this law, was, that it prepared the way for one more august, less incumbered with ceremonies, and more productive of virtues.

Moses, to keep the people in expectation of this law, assures them of the coming of that great prophet, who was to spring from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. *The Lord thy God*, says he, *will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me: unto him shall ye hearken.* That prophet, like unto Moses, a lawgiver as himself, who can he be, but the Messiah, whose doctrine was one day to rule and sanctify the world. Deut. xviii. 15, 18.

Until him there was no prophet to arise in Israel like unto Moses, to whom God should speak face to face, and who should give laws to his people: and so till the time of the Messiah, the people at all times, and in all difficulties rely upon Moses only. As Rome revered the laws of Romulus, Numa and the twelve tables; as Athens had recourse to those of Solon; as Lacedemon preserved and respected those of Lycurgus; the Hebrew people continually pleaded those of Moses. And, indeed, so well had the lawgiver adjusted all things, that none had ever any occasion to make the least alteration in them. Therefore the body of the Jewish law is not a collection of different statues, made at different times and occasions. Moses, enlightened by the spirit of God, had foreseen every thing. We see no statutes of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, or Hezekiah, though all three zealous for justice. The good princes had only to cause the law of Moses to be observed, and contented themselves with recommending the observance of it to their successors. To add to it, or diminish from it one title, was an attempt, the people looked upon with horror. They had occasion for the law every moment, to regulate not only the feasts, sacrifices, and ceremonies, but also all other public and private actions, trials, contracts; Deut. xxiv. 16. 1 Kings ii. 3. &c. Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32.

marriages, successions, funerals, the very fashion of their dress, and, in general, every thing relating to manners. There were no other books, wherein to study the precepts of a good life. They were to peruse it, and meditate upon it night and day; to collect sentences from it, and to have them always before their eyes. It was therein the children learned to read. The only rule of education, that was given to their parents, was to teach them, to inculcate upon them, to make them observe that holy law, which alone could render them wise from their infancy.

Deut. xxxi. 10, 11. Thus it was to be in every body's hands. Besides the constant reading every one was bound to give it in private, there was every seven years, in the solemn

1 Esd. viii. 19. year of release and rest, a public reading, and, as it were, a new publication made of it, at the feast of tabernacles, when all the people were assembled for

Deut. xxxi. 26. eight days. Moses caused the original of Deuteronomy to be deposited in the side of the ark: this was an abridgment of the whole law. But to prevent its being altered in the course of time, through the malice or negligency of men, besides the copies that were current among the people, authentic transcripts of it were made, which being carefully revised and kept by the priests and Levites, were used instead of originals. The kings, (for Moses had well foreseen, that his people would at length have kings, as all other nations) the kings, I say, were obliged, by an express law of Deu-

Deut. xvii. 18. teronomy, to receive from the hands of the priests, one of those transcripts thus religiously corrected, that they might write it, and read therein all the days of their life. The copies so revised by public authority, were had in singular veneration with all the people: they regarded them as proceeding immediately from the hands of Moses, as pure and entire as God had dictated them to him. An ancient book of that strict

2 Kings xxii. 8. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14. &c. and religious correctness, having been found in the house of the Lord, under the reign of Josiah, or perhaps it was the original itself, which Moses had caus-

ed to be put in the side of the ark, excited the piety of that good king, and proved an occasion of his bringing that people to repentance. The great effects wrought at all times by the public reading of this law, are innumerable. In a word, it was a perfect book, which being annexed by Moses to the history of the people of God, taught them at once their origin, their religion, their polity, their manners, their philosophy, every thing that tends to regulate life, every thing that unites and forms society, good and bad examples, the reward of the one, and the rigorous punishments that had attended the other.

By this admirable discipline, a people, come out of slavery, and kept forty years in a desart, arrives full formed at the land they are to possess. Moses conducts them to the entrance, and, being warned of his approaching end, he commits what remains to be done to Joshua. But before he died, he composed that long and admirable song, which begins with these words: *Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.* In this silence of all nature, he speaks first to the people, with inimitable strength, and foreseeing their infidelity, he discovers to them the heinousness and horrors of it. All of a sudden he goes out of himself, as finding all human language beneath so grand a subject; he relates what God said, and makes him speak with so much majesty, and so much goodness, that it is hard to say whether he inspires most, awe and confusion, or love and confidence.

Deut. xxxi.

Deut. xxxii.

All the people learned by heart that divine song, by order of God, and of Moses. And then that great man died contented, as having forgot nothing that might tend to preserve among his followers, the memory of the benefits and commands of God. He left his own children lost in the crowd of their countrymen, without any distinction, and without any extraordinary settlement.

Deut. xxxi. 19, 22.

He hath been admired, not only by his own people, but by all the nations of the world; and no lawgiver hath ever had so great a name among men.

It is thought he wrote the book of Job. The sublimity of the thoughts, and majesty of the style, render that history worthy of Moses. Lest the Hebrews should have been puffed up, by arrogating the grace of God to themselves only, it was proper to let them know, that that great God had his elect even in the race of Esau. What doctrine was more important? What more useful entertainment could Moses give to the people afflicted in the wilderness, than that of the patience of Job, who, when delivered into the hands of Satan to be tried by all manner of hardships, sees himself deprived of his substance, of his children, and of every earthly comfort; presently after smitten with a loathsome disease, and distracted inwardly by the temptation of blasphemy and despair; who, nevertheless, by holding fast his integrity, shows that a faithful soul, supported by divine aid, amidst the most dreadful trials, and in spite of the gloomiest thoughts the evil spirit can suggest, cannot only preserve an invincible confidence, but even raise itself by its own calamities to the highest contemplation, and acknowledge, in the troubles it endures, the nothingness of man, and the supreme dominion and infinite wisdom of God? Such are the lessons taught in the book of Job. To keep up the character of the occasion, we see the holy man's faith crowned with temporal prosperity: but yet the people of God learn to know what is the virtue of sufferings, and to foretaste the grace that was one day to be fastened to the cross.

Job xiii. 15. xiv. 14, 15. xvi. 21. xix. 25, &c.

Moses had tasted it by anticipation, when he chose rather to suffer affliction and shame with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures and plenty of the house of the king of Egypt. From that time God caused him to taste the reproaches of Jesus Christ. He tasted them still more in his precipitate flight, and in his forty years exile. But he drunk deep of the cup

Exod. ii. 10, 11, 15. Heb. xi. 24, 25, 26.

of Jesus Christ, when being chosen to deliver that people, he had to bear with their continual revolts, in which his life was often in danger. He learned what it costs to save the children of God, and showed afar off what a higher deliverance was one day to cost the Saviour of the world. Numb. xiv. 10.

That great man had not even the consolation of entering the promised land: he beheld it only from the top of a mountain, and was not at all ashamed to record, that he was excluded from it by a sin, which, slight as it appears, deserved to be so severely punished in a man, who was endued with so eminent a portion of grace. Moses afforded an example of the severe jealousy of God, and of the judgment he exercises with so terrible strictness upon those, whom his gifts make bound to a more perfect fidelity. Numb. xx. 12, 13. xxvii 14. Deut. xxxii. 51, 52.

But a higher mystery is set forth in the exclusion of Moses. This wise lawgiver, who does, by so many wonders, only conduct the children of God into the neighbourhood of their land, is himself a proof to us that *his law made nothing perfect*, and that without being able to give the accomplishment of the promises, it makes us *embrace them afar off*, or conducts us at most, as it were, to the entrance of our inheritance. It is a Joshua, it is a Jesus, for this was the true name of Joshua, who by that name, and by his office, represented the Saviour of the world; it is that man, so far inferior to Moses in every thing, and only superior to him by the name he bears; it is he, I say, who is to bring the people of God into the holy land. Heb. vii. 19. Ibid. xi. 13.

By the victories of that great man, before whom Jordan turns back, the walls of Jericho fall down of themselves, and the sun stands still in the midst of heaven. God establishes his children in the land of Canaan, from whence he by the same means drives out the abominable nations. By the hatred he gave his faithful towards them, he inspired them with an extreme abhorrence of their impiety; the punishment he inflicted on them by their ministry, filled themselves

with an awe of divine justice, whose decrees they were executing. One part of those nations, whom Joshua expelled their land, settled in Africa, where was found long after in an ancient inscription, the monument of their flight, and of the victories of Joshua. After those miraculous victories had put the Israelites in possession of the greatest part of the land promised to their fathers, Joshua, and Eleasar the high priest, with the heads of the twelve tribes, made a division of it among them, according to the law of Moses, and assigned to the tribe of Judah the first and greatest lot. From the time of Moses, it had surpassed the others in number, in courage, and in dignity. Joshua died, and the people continued the conquest of the holy land. God would have the tribe of Judah to march at the head, and declared that he had delivered the country into its hands. Accordingly, that tribe defeated the Canaanites, and took Jerusalem, which was to be the holy city, and the capital of the people of God. This was the ancient Salem, where Melchisedec had reigned in the days of Abraham: Melchisedec, that *king of righteousness*, (for so his name imports) and at the same time *king of peace*, as *Salem* signifies *peace*, whom Abraham had acknowledged as the greatest highpriest in the world, as if Jerusalem had been thenceforth destined to be a holy city, and the fountain-head of religion. That city was given at first to the children of Benjamin, who being weak, and few in number, were not able to drive out the Jebusites, the ancient inhabitants of that country, and so dwelled among them. Under the Judges, the people of God were variously treated, according to their good or bad behaviour. After the death of the old men, who had seen the miracles of God's hands, the memory of those great works decays, and the universal tendency of mankind draws away the people to idolatry. As oft as they fall into it, they are punished: as oft as they repent, they are delivered. Faith in providence, and the truth of the promises and threatenings

Procop. lib. ii. de. bel. Vand.

Joshua xiii. xiv. and foll.

Num. xxvi. 53.

xxxiv. 17. Jos. xiv. xv.

Num. ii. 3. 9. vii. 12. x 14.

1 Chron. v. 2 Jud. i. 1, 2.

Ibid. iv. 3.

Heb. vii.

Jud. i. 21.

of Moses is more and more confirmed in the hearts of true believiers. But God prepared still greater examples of it. The people demanded a king, and God gave them Saul, who was soon rejected for his sins: he resolved at last to establish a royal family, whence the Messiah should spring, and this he chose in Judah. David, a young shepherd, come of that tribe, the youngest of the sons of Jesse, whose father, and his family, were unacquainted with his merit, but whom God found after his own heart, was anointed by Samuel, in Bethlehem, his native city. 1 Sam. xvi.

VI. David, the kings, and the prophets.

Here the people of God assume a more august form. The kingdom is established in the house of David. This house begins with two kings of different characters, but admirable both. David, a man of war, and a conqueror, subdues the enemies of the people of God, whose arms he causes to be feared over all the east; and Solomon, renowned for his wisdom both at home and abroad, renders that people happy by a profound peace. But the progress of religion requires of us here some particular remarks upon the lives of those two great kings

David reigned first over Judah, powerful and victorious, and he was afterwards acknowledged by all Israel. He took from the Jebusites the strong-hold of Sion, which was the citadel of Jerusalem. Master of that city, he established there, by God's order, the seat of the kingdom, and of religion. Sion was his dwelling-place: he built it round about, and named it the city of David. Joab his sister's son built the rest of the city, and Jerusalem took a new form. The men of Judah possessed the whole country, and Benjamin, few in number, dwelled intermixed with them. 2 Sam. v. 6, 7, 8, 9. 1 Chro. xi. 6. 7. 8. 1 Chro. xi. 16.

The ark of the covenant built by Moses, where God dwelled between the cherubims, and where the two tables of the decalogue were kept, had then no fixed place. David brought it in triumph into Sion, which he had conquered by the Almighty aid of God, that so God might reign in Sion; and that he might 2 Sam. vi. 16.

be there acknowledged as the protector of David, of Jerusalem, and of the whole kingdom. But the tabernacle, wherein the people had served God in the wilderness, was still at Gibeon: and there it was that the sacrifices were offered on the altar, which Moses had set up.

1 Chro. xvi. 39. xxi. 29.

This was only till such time as there should be a temple, where the altar should be re-united with the ark, and wherein the whole service should be performed. When David had defeated all his enemies, and pushed the conquests of the people of God as far as the Euphrates; peaceful and victorious, he turned all his thoughts towards the establishment of divine worship; and upon the same mountain, where Abraham, ready to offer up his only son, was stayed by the hand of an angel, he marked out, by God's appointment, the place for the temple.

2 Sam. viii. 1 Chro. xvii. 1. 2 Sam. xxiv. 25. 1 Chro. xxi. xxii. & foll. Jos. Ant. vii. 10.

He formed all the plans of it; he collected its rich and precious materials; he dedicated the spoils of the conquered nations and kings to its use. But this temple which was to be prepared by the conqueror, was to be reared by the peaceful prince. Solomon built it upon the model of the tabernacle. The altar of burnt-offerings, the altar of perfumes, the golden candlestick, the tables of shew-bread, and all the rest of the sacred furniture of the temple, were taken from like pieces, which Moses had caused to be made in the wilderness: Solomon added nothing but magnificence and grandeur. The ark, which the man of God had built, was placed in the holy of holies, a place inaccessible, a symbol of the impenetrable majesty of God, and of heaven, forbidden to men, until Jesus Christ had opened an entrance into it by his blood. On the day of the dedication of the the temple, God appeared there in his majesty. He made choice of that place to establish his name and his worship there; and it was prohibited to sacrifice any where else. The unity of God was demonstrated by the unity of his temple. Jerusalem became a holy city, an image of

1 Kings vi. vii. viii. 2 Chro. iii iv. v. vi. vii.

the church, where God was to dwell, as in his true temple; and of heaven, where he will make us eternally happy by the manifestation of his glory.

After Solomon had built the temple, he built also the palace of the kings, the architecture of which was worthy of so great a prince. His pleasure-house which was called *the house of the forest of Lebanon*, was equally stately and delightful. The palace he reared for the queen, was a new ornament to Jerusalem. Every thing was grand in those edifices, the porches, galleries, walks, the king's throne, and the tribunal where he sat to do judgment and justice: cedar was the only wood he made use of in these works. Every thing shone resplendent with gold and precious stones. Citizens and strangers, all admired the majesty of the kings of Israel. Every thing else was correspondent to this magnificence; the cities, arsenals, horses, chariots, and the prince's guard Commerce, navigation, and good order, together with a profound peace, had rendered Jerusalem the richest city of the east. The kingdom enjoyed peace and plenty: every thing in it represented the heavenly glory. In David's wars were exhibited the toils whereby it was to be attained; and in Solomon's reign was shown how peaceable was its enjoyment.

1 Kings ix. 1.
Ibid. vii. 2.
1 Kings x. 2
Chron. viii. ix.

Moreover, the exaltation of those two great kings, and of the royal family, was the effect of a particular election. David himself celebrates the wonder of that election by these words: "Howbeit, the Lord God of Israel chose me before all the house of my father, to be king over Israel for ever: for he hath chosen Judah to be the ruler; and of the house of Judah, the house of my father; and among the sons of my father, he liked me, to make me king over all Israel: and of all my sons (for the Lord hath given me many sons) he hath chosen Solomon my son, to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel."

1 Chr. xxviii. 4. 5.

This divine election had in view a higher object than at first appears. That Messiah so many times

promised as the son of Abraham, was also to be the son of David, and of all the kings of Judah. It was with an eye to the Messiah, that God promised to David, "that his throne should stand fast for ever." Solomon chosen to succeed him, was destined to represent the person of the Messiah. And therefore
2 Sam. vii. 14. 2 Chr. xxii. 10. does God say of him, "I will be his father, and he shall be my son," a thing he never said with that emphasis of any other king, or any other man.

Thus in David's time, and under the kings his offspring, the mystery of the Messiah declares itself more than ever by prophecies glorious and clearer than the sun.

David had seen him afar off, and sung him in his psalms with a loftiness that nothing will ever equal. Oftentimes, when he meant only to celebrate the glory of Solomon his son, being all at once ravished out
Matth. vi. 29. xii. 42. of himself, and transported far beyond that subject; he saw him, 'who is greater than Solomon in glory;'
Ps. lxxi. 5. as well as in *wisdom*. The Messiah appeared to him
14. 17. seated on a throne more lasting than the moon. He saw at his feet *all nations* subdued, and at the same time *blessed in him*, conformably to the promise made to Abraham. He raised his prospect still higher; he saw him 'in the beauties of holiness, and from the
Ps. cx. womb of the morning,' proceeding eternally from the bosom of his father, *a priest for ever*, and without successor, as succeeding nobody, created in an extraordinary manner, not according to the order of Aaron, but *after the order of Melchisedec*; a new order, which the law did not know. He saw him *sitting at the right hand of God*, beholding from the highest heavens, 'his enemies made his footstool.' He is astonished at so grand a spectacle; and transported with the glory of his son, he calls him *his Lord*.

He saw him *God, whom God had anointed*, to make
Ps. xlv. 3, 4, 5. 6, 7, 8. him reign over all the earth *by truth, meekness, and righteousness*. He was present in spirit at the council of God, and heard from the eternal father's own

mouth that expression which he addresses to his only son: *This day have I begotten thee:* to which God joins a promise of "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. In vain do the people rage; in vain do the kings and princes take counsel together." The Lord from the height of heaven laughs at their mad projects, and in spite of them establishes the empire of his CHRIST. He establishes it over themselves; and they are obliged to be the first subjects of that CHRIST, whose yoke they wanted to shake off. And though the reign of that great Messiah be often foretold in the scriptures under glorious ideas, God did not conceal from David the ignominies that were to be offered to that blessed fruit of his loins. This instruction was necessary to the people of God. If that people, yet weak, stood in need of being allured by temporal promises, they were not, however, to be suffered to look upon human greatness as the sovereign felicity, and as their sole reward: wherefore God shows them from afar that Messiah so long promised, and so much desired, the pattern of perfection, and the object of his complacency, overwhelmed in sorrow. The cross appears to David as the true throne of this new king; he sees *his hands and feet pierced, all his bones* staring through his skin, by the whole weight of his body violently suspended; "his garments divided, lots cast upon his vesture," his tongue moistened with gall and vinegar, his enemies raging all around him, and glutting themselves with his blood. But he sees at the same time the glorious effects of his humiliation: 'all the ends of the world remembering and turning to their God,' whom they had so many ages forgot, the poor coming the first to the table of the Messiah, and afterwards the rich and powerful, all adoring and blessing him, himself presiding *in the great* and numerous *congregation*, that is, in the assembly of the converted nations, and *there declaring to his brethren the name of God*, and his eternal truths. David, who saw these things,

Ps. ii. 6. 7. 8.
Ibid. i. 1. 4. 8. 9.
Ps. ii. 10.
Ps. xxii. 17. 18. 19.
Ps. lxviii. 22.
Ps. xxii. 8. 13. 14. 17. 21. 22.
Ibid. 26. 27. & foll.

acknowledged, upon seeing them, that the kingdom of his son was not of this world. He is not astonished at it, for he knows that the world passeth away; and a prince always so humble upon the throne, saw plainly that a throne was not a bliss, in which his hopes ought to terminate.

Other prophets have no less seen the mystery of the Messiah. There is nothing great or glorious, that they have not said of his reign. One sees *Bethlehem*, a city *the least among the thousands of Judah*, made illustrious by his birth; and at the same time rising a little higher, he beholds a birth whereby *he comes forth, from all eternity* out of the bosom of his father: another sees the virginity of his mother; an *Emanuel, a God with us*, proceeding from that virgin womb, and a wonderful child, whom he calls *God*. One perceives him *coming to his temple*, another beholds him *glorious in his rest*, or in his grave, where death was conquered. While they publish his glory, they do not conceal his reproaches. They saw him sold to his people, they knew the number and use of the 'thirty pieces of silver at which he was prized.' At the same time that they beheld him, *exalted and extolled*, they saw him *despised and rejected of men;* the astonishment of many, as much by his humiliation, as his greatness; 'the least desirable of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, bearing the iniquity of us all;' doing good to those who 'hide their faces from him;' disfigured by his wounds, and by them healing ours; treated as a malefactor; 'brought to the slaughter with the wicked,' and as an innocent lamb, opening not his mouth; a long generation proceeding from him by this means, and vengeance overtaking his unbelieving people. That nothing might be wanting to the prophecy, they numbered the years till his coming, and unless we wilfully blindfold ourselves, it is no longer possible to mistake it.

Mich. v. 2. Isa. vii. 14. Ibid. ix. 9. Mal. iii. 1. Is. xi. 10. liii. 9. Zech. xi. 12. 13. Is. lii. 13. 14. liii. 3. Dan. ix.

Not only did the prophets see Jesus Christ, but they also were a type of him, and represented his mys-

teries, especially that of the cross. Almost all of them suffered persecution for righteousness sake, and by their sufferings have figured to us, the innocence and truth persecuted in our Lord. We see Elijah and Elisha constantly threatened. How many times was Isaiah made the scorn of the people, and of the kings, who, in the end, as the allowed tradition of the Jews bears it, sacrificed him to their fury? Zachariah, the son of Jehoida is stoned: Ezekiel seems ever in affliction: the misfortunes of Jeremiah are continual, and inexpressible; and we see Daniel twice cast into the den of lions. Not one of them but has been gainsayed, and maltreated; and all have showed us by their example, that if the weakness of the ancient people required in general to be supported by temporal blessings, the strong men of Israel, and those of an extraordinary sanctity, were no less fed with the bread of affliction, and drunk beforehand, for their further sanctification, of the cup prepared for the son of God: a cup, as much more bitter, as the person of Jesus Christ was holier.

But what the prophets saw most clearly, and what they also declared in the sublimest terms, was, the blessing extended towards the Gentiles in the Messiah. *The root of Jesse*, and of David, appeared to the holy prophet Isaiah *as an ensign* given by God 'to the people, and to whom the Gentiles should seek.' The 'man of sorrows, whose stripes were to be our healing,' was chosen to wash the Gentiles by an holy *sprinkling*; which is in his blood and in baptism. *The kings* struck with an awful reverence at his presence, dare not to open their mouth before him: 'for that which had not been told them they see, and that which they had not heard, they are called to consider. Behold, He is given for a witness to the people; a leader and commander to the Gentiles.' Under him 'a nation that they knew not shall be joined to the people of God, and the nations that knew not them shall run into them.' This is the righteousness of Zion, which

Is. xi. 10.
liii. 5.
liii. 3.
lv. 5.
liii. 15.
lv. 4.
lxi. 9.

shall go forth as brightness,' this is the salvation thereof, which shall be as a lamp that burneth. And the Gentiles shall see his righteousness, and all kings the glory' of that man, so celebrated in the prophecies of Zion.

But behold him still better described, and with a peculiar character. A man of wonderful meekness, the singularly 'elect of God, and in whom his soul delighteth, brings forth judgment to the Gentiles: and the isles wait for his law.' Thus the Hebrews call Europe, and other distant countries. He shall make no noise: 'he shall not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street:' so meek and peaceful shall he be. 'A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench.' Far from confounding the weak, and sinners, his gracious voice shall call them, and his merciful hand shall be their stay. 'He will open the blind eyes, he will bring out the prisoners from the prison, and they that sit in darkness, out of the prison-house.' His power shall be no less than his goodness. His essential character is, to join together meekness and efficacy, wherefore that sweet voice shall run in a moment, from one end of the world to the other, and without causing any sedition among men, shall excite the whole earth. He is neither forward nor impetuous; and he, whom they hardly knew, when he was in Judea, shall not only be a foundation *for the covenant of the people*, but also *the light of the Gentiles*. Under his blessed reign the Assyrians and Egyptians shall make with the Israelites, but one and the same people of God. All becomes Israel, all becomes holy. Jerusalem is no more a particular city; it is the image of a new society, in which all nations are gathered together: Europe, Afric, and Asia receive preachers, among whom 'God hath set his sign, that they may declare his glory among the Gentiles.' The elect, till then called by the name of Israel, *shall be called by a new name* in which shall be signified the accomplishment

Is. xlii. 4. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. xlix. 6.

Is. xix. 24. 25.

Is. lx. 1. 2. 3. 4. 11. lxi. 1. 2. 3. 11. lxii. 1. 2. 11. lxv. 1. 2. 15. 16.

of the promises and a happy *Amen*. *The priests and Levites*, who hitherto came of Aaron, "shall be taken henceforth out of the midst of the heathen." A new sacrifice, more pure and more acceptable than the old one, shall be substituted in their place, and it shall be known why David had celebrated an highpriest of a new order. "Drop down ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together." Heaven and earth shall unite in producing as by one common birth, him, who shall be at once heavenly and earthly: new ideas of virtue shall appear to the world in his example, and doctrine; and the grace, which he shall dispense, shall imprint them on men's hearts. All things change at his coming, and God swears by himself, that every knee shall bow before him, and that every tongue shall confess his sovereign power.

Isa. lvi. 19. 20. 21. Mal. i. 10. 11. Ps. cx. Is. xlv. 8. Is. xlv. 23.

This was a part of the wonders which God showed to the prophets under the kings, the sons of David, and to David above all the rest. They all wrote beforehand the history of the son of God, who was also to be made the son of Abraham and of David. And thus every thing followed regularly in the order of the divine counsels. That Messiah exhibited at a distance, as the son of Abraham, is also shown nigher, as the son of David. An eternal kingdom is promised him: the knowledge of God spread abroad throughout all the earth is specified as the certain sign, and as the fruit of his coming: the conversion of the Gentiles, and the blessing of all the the nations of the world, so long promised to Abraham. Isaac, and Jacob, is confirmed anew, and all the people of God live in this expectation.

In the mean time God continues to govern them in an admirable manner. He makes a new covenant with David, and obliges himself to protect him and the kings his descendants, if they walk in the statutes he hath given them by Moses; but if not he denounces

2 Sam. vii. 3. and fol. 1 Kings ix. 4. and fol. 2 Chro. vii. 17.

and fol. to them the severest punishments. David, who for-
2 Sam. xi. 12, and fol. gets himself for a little, is the first that feels them; but having made amends for his fault by his repentance, he is crowned with prosperity, and proposed as a model of a perfect king. The throne is established in his house. So long as his son Solomon imitates his pi-
1 Kings xi. ety, he is happy: he goes astray in his old age, and God, who spares him for his servant David's sake, declares to him, that he will not punish him in the person of his son. Thus he shows parents, that according to the secret order of his judgments, he continues their rewards or punishments after their death; and holds them in submission to his laws by their dearest tie. That is, by the tie of their children. In execu-
1 Kings xii. tion of his decrees, Rehoboam, headstrong in himself, is given up to a foolish council: his kingdom is diminished by ten tribes. Whilst these ten rebellious and schismatic tribes turn aside from their God and from their king, the children of Judah faithful to God, and to David whom he had chosen, stand fast in the covenant and faith of Abraham. The Levites, with Benjamin adhere to them: the kingdom of the people of God subsists by their union under the name of the kingdom of Judah; and the law of Moses is maintained there in all its rites and ceremonies: notwithstanding the idolatries and dreadful corruption of the ten separated tribes, God remembers his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. His law goes not quite out among those rebels: he does not cease to call them to repentance by numberless miracles, and by continual warnings, which he sends them by his
2 Kings xviii. 6, 7, and foll. prophets. But they, being hardened in their wickedness, he can no longer bear with them, and so drives them out of the promised land, without hopes of ever being re-established in it.

Tob. i. 3, 6, 7. Meanwhile the history of Tobit happening at that same time, and about the beginning of the captivity of the Israelites, shows us the conduct of God's elect, who remained in the separated tribes. This holy

man, by dwelling among them before the captivity, found means not only to preserve himself from the idolatries of his brethren, but even to perform the law, and worship God publicly in the temple at Jerusalem, unmoved either by bad example, or by fear. When a persecuted captive at Nineveh, he persevered in piety with his family; and the wonderful manner in which he and his son are rewarded for their faith, even upon earth, shows, that in spite of captivity and persecution, God had secret ways of making his servants taste the blessings of the law in raising them, however, by the misfortunes they had to suffer, to more exalted notions. By the examples of Tobit, and by his wholesome admonitions, the men of Israel were excited to acknowledge, at least under the rod, the hand of God, which chastened them; but amost all continued in their obstinacy: the children of Judah, far from profiting by the chastisements of Israel, imitated their bad examples. God does not cease to warn them by his prophets, whom he sends them time after time, *rising up early and sending them*, as he says himself, to express his paternal care. Provoked by their ingratitude, he is moved against them, and threatens to deal with them as with their rebellious brethren.

Ibid. ii. Ibid. xii. 21 22. 2Kings xvii.13. Ibid. xxiii. 26, 27. 2 Chro. xxxvi 15. Jer. xxix. 18. xxxv. 15.

There is nothing more remarkable in the history of the people of God, than this ministry of the prophets. We see men set apart from the rest of the people, by a retired life, and by a peculiar garb: they have habitations, where we see them live in a sort of community, under a superior, whom God gave them. Their poor and self-denied life was a type of the mortification, which was to be enjoined under the gospel. God communicated himself to them in a particular manner, and made manifest to the eyes of the people, that wonderful communication: but it never was so eminently conspicuous as in the times of disorder, when idolatry seemed about to abolish the law of God. During those unhappy times, the prophets loudly proclaimed on all sides, both by word and

1 Sam. xxviii. 14. 1 Kings xix. 19. 2 Kings i. 8. Is. xx. 2. Zech. xiii. 4. 1 Sam. x. 40. xix. 20. 1 Kings xviii. 2Kings ii. 3,15, 18, 19. 25. iv. 10. 38. vi. 1 2.

by writing, the threatenings of God, and the testimony they bore to his truth. The writings they composed were in the hands of all the people, and carefully preserved in continual remembrance to future ages. Those of the people that kept faithful to God, adhered to them; and we see that even in Israel, where idolatry reigned, the few faithful there were, celebrated with the prophets the sabbath, and the feasts established by the law of Moses. It was they that encouraged good people to stand fast in the covenant. Many of them suffered death; and after their example, there were in the worst times, that is even in the reign of Manasseh, infinite numbers of the faithful who laid down their lives for the truth, in so much that it has not been a single moment without a witness.

Exod. xvii. 14. Is. xxx. 8. xxxiv. 16. Jer. xxii. 30. xxvi. 12, 13. xxxvi. 2, 11. 2 Chro. xxvi. 22. 1 Esd. i. 1. Dan. ix. 2. 2 Kings iv. 23. 2 Kings xxi. 16.

Thus the society of the people of God always subsisted and the prophets continued in it: a great number of the faithful strenuously persisted in the law of God, with them and with "the priests and sons of Zadoc, who," as says Ezekiel, "when the children of Israel went astray from God, kept the charge of the sanctuary.

Ezek. xliv. 15.

Yet, in spite of the prophets, in spite of the faithful priests, and of the people united with them in the observance of the law, idolatry, which had ruined Israel, often drew aside, even in Judah itself, both the princes, and the bulk of the people. Though the kings forgot the God of their fathers, he bore long with their iniquities, for the sake of David his servant. David is ever in his sight. When the kings, the sons of David, follow the good example of their father, God works surprising wonders in their behalf: but they feel, when they degenerate, the invincible strength of his arm, which then falls heavy upon them. The kings of Egypt, the kings of Syria, and, above all, the kings of Assyria and Babylon, serve as instruments to his vengeance. Impiety increases, and God raises up in the east a king more haughty, and more formidable than all that had till then appeared: and that is Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the most

terrible of all conquerors. God points him out afar off to the nations and kings, as the avenger destined to punish them. He draws nigh, and terror marches before him. He takes Jerusalem a first time, and carries away a part of its inhabitants to Babylon: yet neither do they who remain in the country, nor they who are transported, though warned, those by Jeremiah, and these by Ezekiel, turn to repentance. They prefer to those holy prophets, *the prophets who prophesied lies to them*, and flattered them in their wickedness. The avenger returns into Judea, and the yoke of Jerusalem is made heavier; but she is not quite destroyed. At last impiety comes to its height; pride increases with weakness; and Nebuchadnezzar reduces the whole to ashes.

Jer. xxv. &c. Ez. xxvi. &c. 2 Kings xxiv. 1. 2 Chro. xxxvi. Jer. xiv. 14.

God spared not his own sanctury. That glorious temple, the ornament of the world, which was to have been eternal, had the children of Israel persevered in piety, was consumed by the fire of the Assyrians. In vain did the Jews cry out incessantly, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord," is among us, as if that sacred temple had been to protect them of itself. God had resolved to let them see, that he was not confined to a fabric of stone, but that he would have his habitation in faithful hearts. So he destroyed the temple of Jerusalem; he delivered its treasure to the spoilers, and the many costly vessels consecrated by pious kings, were given to an impious tyrant.

2 Kings xxv. 9. Jer. vii. 4.

But the fall of the people of God was to be the edification of the whole world. We see in the person of this impious, and at the same time victorious king, what are those men called conquerors. They are for the most part but instruments of the divine vengeance. God exercises his justice by them, and then exercises it upon them. Nebuchadnezzar, vested with the divine power, and become invincible by that ministry, punishes all the enemies of the people of God: he ravages the Idumeans, the Ammonites, and the Moab-

2 Kings xxiv. 7. ites; he overthrows the kings of Syria; Egypt, under whose power Judea had so often groaned, is now the prey of the proud tyrant, and becomes tributary to him: his power is no less fatal to Judea itself, which knows not how to improve the reprieves God vouchsafes her. She totally falls, is totally destroyed by the divine justice, whereof Nebuchadnezzar is the minister: he too shall fall in his turn, and God who employs the hand of that prince to chastise his children, and pull down his enemies, reserves him for his own almighty arm.

He left not his children ignorant of the destiny of that king, who chastened them, and of the empire of the Chaldeans, under which they were to be captives. Lest they should be surprized at the glory of the wicked, and of their haughty reign, the prophets denounced their short duration. Isaiah, who saw the glory of Nebuchadnezzar, and his mad pride, a long time before his birth, foretold his sudden fall, as well as that of his empire. Babylon was scarce any thing, when that prophet saw its power, and a little after, its downfall. Thus the revolutions of the cities and empires, which harassed the people of God, or profited by their destruction, were written in their prophecies. These oracles were followed by a speedy execution: and the Jews, so severely punished, saw fall before them, or a very little after, according to the predictions of their prophets, not only Samaria, Idumea, Gaza, Ascalon, Damascus, the cities of the Ammonites and Moabites their perpetual enemies; but the capitals of the great empires, Tyre mistress of the sea, Tanis, Memphis, hundred-gated Thebes, with all the riches of its Sesostris; Nineveh itself, the seat of the kings of Assyria their persecutors; and proud Babylon, victorious over all the rest, and rich with their spoils.

Is. xiii. xiv. xxi. xlv. xlvi. xlvii. and xlviii.

It is true, Jerusalem perished at the same time for her sins: but God doth not leave her without hope. Isaiah, who had foretold her ruin, had seen her glorious restoration, and had himself named Cyrus her de-

Is. xliv. xlv.

liverer, two hundred years before he was born. Jeremiah, whose predictions had been so precise in pointing out to that ungrateful people their certain overthrow, had also promised them their return after threescore and ten years captivity. During those years, the humbled people was respected in its prophets: these captives pronounced to kings and nations their dreadful dooms. Nebuchadnezzar, who would needs be worshipped, does himself worship Daniel, astonished at the divine secrets he discovered to him: he learns from him his sentence, soon followed by execution. This victorious prince triumphed in Babylon, which he made the greatest, strongest, and most beautiful city the sun had ever beheld. There it was God intended to confound his pride. Happy and invulnerable, so to speak, at the head of his armies, and during the whole course of his conquests, he was to fall, "in the place where he was created, and in the land of his nativity," according to the oracle of Ezekiel. While admiring his greatness, and the beauty of Babylon, he exalts himself above humanity, God strikes him, deprives him of his understanding, and degrades him to the rank of the beasts. He recovers his senses at the time assigned by Daniel, and confesses the God of heaven, who had made him feel his power. But his successors did not take warning from his example. The affairs of Babylon fall into confusion, and the time pointed out by the prophecies for the restoration of Judah, arrives amidst all these troubles. Cyrus appears at the head of the Medes and Persians: every thing gives way to that formidable conqueror. He makes but slow advances towards the Chaldeans, and his march meets with frequent interruptions. The rumour of his coming is heard from afar, as Jeremy had foretold: at last he is determined: Babylon, often threatened by the prophets, and ever proud and impenitent, sees her conqueror arrive, and despises him. Her riches, her lofty walls, her numberless inhabitants, her prodi-

Jer. xxv. 11, 12. xxxix. 10.

Dan. ii. 46. Ibid. iv. 16.

Jer. xxvii.

Ezek. xxi. 30.

Dan. iv. 31.

Herod lib. i. Xenoph lib. ii. iii. &c. Prædag. Jer. li. 46. Herod. lib. i. Xenoph. lib. vii. Prædag. Arist. 8.

Polit.3. gious compass, which contained a whole large country, as all the ancients attest, and her infinite stores, all these puff up her mind with undoubted security. Besieged a long time without feeling any inconvenience, she laughs at her enemies, and at the ditches Cyrus was digging about her: nothing is talked of there but
Dan. v. banquets and rejoicings. Her king Belshazzar, grandson to Nebuchadnezzar, as proud as he, but not so great a man, makes a solemn feast to his lords. This feast is celebrated with unheard of excesses. Belshazzar commands to bring the sacred vessels which had been taken out of the temple, and mingles profanation with luxury. The wrath of God declares itself: a heavenly hand writes terrible words upon the wall of the room where the feast is held. Daniel interprets the meaning of it: and that prophet who had foretold the fatal fall of the grandfather, shows also to the grandson the thunder that is ready to burst upon him.

In execution of God's decree, Cyrus makes all at once a breach in Babylon. The Euphrates turned aside into the channels he had been so long preparing it, discovers to him its immense bed: and he
Is. xiii. 17. xxi. 2. xlv. xlvi. xlvii. Jer. li. 11. 28. Is. xiv. 16. 17. enters by this unexpected passage. Thus 'that haughty Babylon' was delivered up a prey 'to the Medes, to the Persians, and to Cyrus,' as the prophets had said. And thus perished with her the empire of the Chaldeans, which had destroyed so many other kingdoms, 'and the hammer which hath broke
Jer. l. 2. Is. xiv. 5. 6. the whole earth in pieces, was cut asunder and broken' itself. Well hath Jeremiah foretold it. The Lord broke the staff, wherewith he hath smote so many nations.' Isaiah had foreseen it. The nations accustomed to the yoke of the Chaldean kings
Ibid. 10. 13. 14. now see them under the yoke themselves: 'Art thou also,' say they, 'become weak as we? Art thou 'become like unto us? Thou who hast said in thine heart, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, and I
Is. xxi. 5. will be like the Most High.' This the same Isaiah had pronounced. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen,' as had said that prophet, 'and all the graven images

of her gods are broken unto the ground. 'Bel boweth down, and Nebo,' her great god, from whom the kings took their name, 'stoopeth:' for the Persians their enemies, worshipers of the sun, would not suffer idols, nor kings made gods. But how did this Babylon perish? Why, just as the prophets had declared. 'Her waters were 'dried up,' as Jeremiah had foretold, to give passage to her conqueror: drunk, sleeping, betrayed by her own rejoicing, according to the same prophet, she found herself in the power of her enemies, and was taken, as in a snare, without being aware.' All her inhabitants are put to the sword: for 'the Medes,' her vanquishers, as Isaiah had said, 'regarded neither gold nor silver,' but vengeance, to satiate their hatred by the destruction of a cruel people, whose pride made them the enemy of all the nations of the world. 'The messengers came one after another to show the king of Babylon, that his city was taken at one end;' and so Jeremiah had described it. Her astrologers, in whom she trusted, and who promised her perpetual empire, could not save her from her destroyer. Isaiah and Jeremiah declare it with one accord. In that dreadful slaughter, the Jews, having timely warning, escaped alone from the sword of the victors. Cyrus, become by this conquest master of the whole East, acknowledges in that people, so often conquered, something, I do not know what, divine. Enraptured with the oracles, which had foretold his victories, he confesses, that he owes his empire *to the God of heaven*, whom the Jews served, and signalizes the first year of his reign by the restoration of his temple and people.

Ibid. xlvi. 1.

Jer. l. 38. li. 36. l. 24. li. 33. 57.

Is. xiii. 15. 16. 17. 18. Jer. l. 35. 36. 37. 42.

Jer. li. 61. Is. xliii. 12. 13. 14. 15. Jer. l. 36. Is. xlviii. 20. Jer. li. 6. 28. li. 6. 10. 50. &c.

2 Chr. xxxvi. 23. Ezra i. 2.

Who would not here admire the divine providence so manifestly declared upon the Jews and Chaldeans, upon Jerusalem and Babylon? God means to punish both; and that they may not be ignorant, that it is he alone who does it, he is pleased to declare it by above an hundred prophecies. Jerusalem and Babylon, both threatened at the same time, and by the same

prophets, fall one after another in the time limited. But God here discovers the great secret of the two chastisements he inflicts: a chastisement of severity upon the Chaldeans; a fatherly chastisement on the Jews, who are his children. The pride of the Chaldeans (for this was the characteristic of the nation) and the spirit of the whole empire is humbled without retrieve. *The most proud shall stumble and fall, and none shall raise him up*, said Jeremiah; and Isaiah before him, 'Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom God left no resource. But as for the Jews, it is not so with them; God chastened them as disobedient children, whom he turns again to their duty by correction, and then moved with their tears, he forgets their faults. 'Fear thou not, O Jacob, my servant,' saith the Lord, 'for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the nations, whither I have driven thee; but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in measure: yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished.' Wherefore Babylon taken for ever from the Chaldeans, is delivered unto another people; and Jerusalem restored by a wonderful revolution, sees her children return from all quarters.

Jer. l. 31. 32. 40. Is. xiii. 19.

Jer. xlvi. 28.

It was Zerubbabel, of the tribe of Judah, and of the blood royal, that brought them back out of captivity. The men of Judah return in crowds, and fill the whole country. The ten scattered tribes are lost among the Gentiles, save those, who, under the name of Judah, and re-united under its standards, come again into the land of their fathers.

In the mean time the altar is re-erected, the temple is rebuilt, the walls of Jerusalem are reared anew. The jealousy of the neighbouring nations is checked by the kings of Persia, now become the protectors of the people of God. The highpriest resumes his office, with all the other priests who proved their succession by *genealogy* from the public *registers*: the

Esr. ii. 62.

rest were, *as polluted, put from the priesthood.* Ezra a priest himself, and doctor of the law, and Nehemiah the governor, reform all the abuses which the captivity had introduced, and cause the law to be kept in its purity. The people mourn with them for the transgressions, which had brought those severe chastisements upon them, and acknowledge that Moses had foretold them. They all together read in the sacred books the threatenings of the man of God: they see the accomplishment of them: the oracle of Jeremiah, and the so often promised return, after the seventy years captivity, astonishes and comforts them: they adore the judgments of God, and once more reconciled with him, live in peace. 1 Esd. viii. 9.

God, who does every thing in his own due time, had made choice of this to cause the extraordinary means, that is, prophecies, to cease among his people, henceforth sufficiently instructed. There yet remained about five hundred years unto the days of the Messiah. God, in honour of his son's majesty, silences the prophets during that whole time, to keep his people in expectation of Him, who was to be the accomplishment of all their oracles.

But towards the expiration of the times, in which God had resolved to put an end to the prophecies, he seemed willing to spread abroad all his light, and to discover all the counsels of his providence: so clearly did he reveal the secrets of times to come.

During the captivity, and especially towards the time it drew to an end, Daniel, revered for his piety, even by infidel kings, and employed for his prudence in the greatest affairs of their kingdoms, saw in successive order, at different times, and under different figures, four monarchies, under which the Israelites were to live. He distinguishes them by their proper characters. We see pass as a torrent the empire of a king of Grecia; which was that of Alexander. By its fall we see established another empire less than his, and weakened by its divisions: and this was that Dan. ii. iii. v. viii. 3. Dan. ii. vii. 7. Ibid. vii. 8. viii. 21. 22.

of his successors, among whom there are four pointed out in the prophecy. Antipater, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Antigonus are visibly described. It is evident from history, that these were more powerful than the rest, and the only ones whose power descended to
Dan. xi. their children. We see their wars, their jealousies, and their deceitful alliances; the cruelty and ambition of the kings of Syria; the pride, and other marks which distinguish Antiochus Illustris, the implacable enemy of the people of God; the shortness of his reign, and speedy punishment of his excesses. We see arise, in fine towards the latter end, and as it were out of the womb of these monarchies, the reign
Dan. ii. 44. 45. vii. 13. 14. 17. 18. *of the son of man.* By this name you understand Jesus Christ; but that reign of the son of man is also called "the kingdom of the saints of the Most High." All nations are made subject to this great and peaceful empire: eternity is promised to it, and it is to be the only one *whose kingdom shall not be left to another people.*

When that son of man, and that so much longed for Christ shall come, and how he shall accomplish the work committed to him, that is, the redemption of mankind, God discovers manifestly to Daniel.
Dan. ix. 23. &c. While he is taken up about the captivity of his people in Babylon, and the seventy years, which God had determined to accomplish in the desolations of Jerusalem, in the midst of the supplications he makes for the deliverance of his brethren, he is all of a sudden raised to more transcendent mysteries. He sees another number of years, and another far more important
Dan. ix. 24. deliverance. Instead of the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah, he is shown seventy weeks, to commence from the going forth of the commandment from Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the twentieth year of his reign, for rebuilding the city of Jerusalem. There is marked in precise terms, at the end of these weeks,
Dan. ix. 24. 'the reconciliation for iniquity, the everlasting reign of righteousness, the full accomplishment of the pro-

phecies; and the anointing of the Most Holy.' *The CHRIST* is to execute his office, and appear as *the prince* of the people *after sixty-nine weeks*. *After sixty-nine weeks*, (for the prophet repeats it) *the Messiah is to be cut off:* he is to die a violent death: he is to be made a sacrifice in order to fulfil the mysteries. One week is distinguished among the rest, which is the last and seventieth. It is that wherein the Messiah shall be sacrificed, wherein the covenant shall be confirmed; and in the midst of which the sacrifice and oblation shall cease, doubtless, by the death of Christ: for it is in consequence of his death, that this change is signified. 'After the death of the Messiah, and the abolition of the sacrifices,' nothing is to be seen but horror and confusion: we see 'the destruction of the holy city and sanctuary; a people and a prince, who come to destroy every thing; the abominations in the temple, and the final and irremediable desolation' of the people, rebellious against their God, and ungrateful towards their Saviour. Ibid. 25, 26. Ibid. 27. Ibid. 26, 27.

We have seen, that those weeks reduced to weeks of years, according to the scripture manner, make 490 years, and bring us precisely from the 20th year of Artaxerxes down to the last week; a week full of mystery, in which Jesus Christ offered up puts an end by his death to the sacrifices of the law, and fulfils the figures of it. The learned make various computations to make the times quadrate exactly: but that which I have proposed to you, is attended with no inconvenience. It is so far from obscuring the series of the history of the kings of Persia, that it throws light upon it; although there would be nothing very surprizing if there should be found some uncertainty in the dates of those princes, and eight or nine years, the most that could be disputed in a reckoning of 400, will never make any important question. But what need we say more? God hath cut off the difficulty, if there was any, by a decision that admits no reply. A manifest event sets us above all the little niceties of

chronologers; and the total destruction of the Jews, which followed so close upon the death of our Lord, demonstrates to the meanest understanding the accomplishment of the prophecy.

It now remains only to observe to you one circumstance of it. Daniel discovers to us a new mystery. The oracle of Jacob had taught us, that the kingdom of Judah was to cease at the coming of the Messiah; but it did not tell us that his death should be the cause of that kingdom's downfal. God hath revealed this important secret to Daniel, and declares to him, as you see, that the ruin of the Jews shall be the consequence of the death of Christ, and of their own ingratitude. Mark well this passage, if you please, and the series of events will soon make you an excellent commentary on it. You see what God showed to the prophet Daniel, a little before the victories of Cyrus, and rebuilding of the temple. While it was building, he raised up the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and immediately after he sent Malachi, who was to close the prophecies of the ancient people.

What did not Zechariah see? One would think, that the book of the divine decrees had been laid open to this prophet, and that he had read the whole history of God's people from the captivity.

Zech. xiv. The persecutions of the kings of Syria, and the wars they wage against Judah, are discovered to him in all their consequence. He sees Jerusalem taken, and sacked, a dreadful pillage, and infinite disorders, the people flying into the wilderness, uncertain of their fate, to live or die, and when on the brink of utter desolation, a new light all of a sudden appearing to them. The enemies are conquered; the idols are thrown down in all the holy land: we see peace and plenty in town and country, and the temple is revered in the whole east.

Zech. xiv. 14 One memorable circumstance of those wars is revealed to the prophet: that Jerusalem was to be be-

trayed by her own children, and that amongst her enemies many Jews should be found.

Sometimes he sees a long train of prosperity: Judah is filled with strength: the kingdoms that oppressed her are humbled; the neighbours, who did not cease to harass her are punished: some are converted, and incorporated with the people of God. The prophet beholds his people crowned with divine favours, among which he reckons the triumph, no less modest than glorious, 'of the king, just, lowly, and having salvation, who riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass, cometh unto his city of Jerusalem.' Zech. ix. x. Zech. x. 6. Ibid. 11. Zech. ix. 1, 2. 3, 4, 5. 6, 7, 8. 9.

After having recounted their prosperity, he resumes from the beginning the whole series of their calamities. He sees all at once the temple on fire, the whole country destroyed with the capital, murders, violences, and a king authorizing them. God takes pity on his forsaken people, he becomes himself their shepherd, and his protection is their staff. In the end civil wars break out, and things turn to decay. The time of this change is specified by a certain mark, and three princes degraded in one month speak the commencement of it. Zech. xi. Zech. xi. 8.

In the midst of these woes appears a still greater, A little after those divisions, and in the times of decay, *God is prized at thirty pieces of silver*, by his ungrateful people; and the prophet sees every thing even to *the potter's field*, or *that of the graver*, on which the money is bestowed. Hence follow extreme disorders amongst the shepherds of the people; at last they are blinded, and their power is destroyed. Zech. xi. 12. 13.

What shall I say of the wonderful vision of Zechariah, who sees the shepherd 'smitten, and the sheep scattered?' What shall I say 'of the look the people cast upon their God, whom they have pierced,' and of their mourning for a more lamentable death than that of an only son, or than that of Josiah? Zechariah saw all these things: but the greatest sight he Zech. xiii. 7 xii. 10

saw was, "The Lord, sent by the Lord to inhabit Je-
Zech. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. rusalem, where he calls the Gentiles, to join them to his people, and to dwell in the midst of them."

Haggai says less, but what he says is surprizing.
Ez. iii. 12. Whilst the second temple is a building, and the old men, that had seen the first, melt into tears, on comparing the meanness of this latter edifice with the magnificence of the former, the prophet, who sees farther than they, publishes the glory of the second temple, and prefers it to the first. He explains whence this
Hag. ii. 7, 8, 9, 10. new house shall proceed; *the desire of all nations shall come:* that Messiah promised two thousand years, and from the beginning of the world, as the Saviour of the Gentiles, shall appear in this new temple. *Peace shall be established there; the whole world shaken* shall bear witness to the coming of its Redeemer; *there is now but a little while* to expect him, and the times appointed for that expectation are in their last period.

At length the temple is finished; victims are offered up; but the covetous Jews present defective sacrifices. Malachi, who reproves them for it, is raised to a higher consideration, and upon occasion of the polluted offerings of the Jews, he sees *an offering pure*, and unpolluted, *which shall be presented to God*, no
Mal. i. 11. longer as aforetime only in the temple of Jerusalem, but *from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same:* no longer by the Jews, but *by the Gentiles*, among whom he prophecies, *that the name of God shall be great.*

He sees also, like Haggai, the glory of the second temple, and the Messiah honouring it with his presence: but he sees, at the same time, that the Messiah is the God, to whom that temple is dedicated. "Be-
Mal. iii. 1. hold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into his temple; even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts."

God's messengers are angels: but here is a messen-

ger of a wonderful dignity, a messenger, who hath a temple; a messenger, who is God, and who entereth into the temple as his proper dwelling; a messenger desired by all the people, who cometh to make a new covenant, and who is, for that reason, called the angel of the covenant, or, of the New Testament.

It was, therefore, in the second temple, that this God, the messenger of God, was to appear: but another messenger goes before, and prepares his ways. There we see the Messiah preceded by his harbinger. The character of that forerunner is also showed to the prophet. This is to be a new Elijah, remarkable for his holiness, for his austerity of life, for his authority, and for his zeal. Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5, 6.

Thus the last prophet of the ancient people pointed out the first prophet, that was to come after him, or that Elijah, the forerunner of the Lord, who was to appear. Till that time God's people had no prophet to expect, the law of Moses was to be sufficient for them, and therefore Malachi concludes with these words: "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments. Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, who shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children," who shall show to these what the others have expected. Mal. iv. 4, 5, 6.

To this law of Moses, God had joined the prophets, who had spoken in conformity to it; and the history of God's people composed by the same prophets, in which were confirmed, by visible experiences, the promises and threatnings of the law. All was carefully written; all was digested in the order of time: and this was what God left for the instruction of his people, when he made the prophecies to cease.

V. The times of the second temple.

Such instructions made a great change in the manners of the Israelites. They had no more need either of vision, or manifest prediction, or of those unheard of wonders which God so often wrought for their preservation. The proofs they had got sufficed them:

and their incredulity, not only convinced by the event of things, but likewise so often punished, had at last rendered them tractable.

Wherefore, from that time we see them no more return to idolatry, to which they were so strangely inclined. They had sufficiently found the bad effects of rejecting the God of their fathers. They were ever calling to mind Nebuchadnezzar, and their own destruction so often foretold in all its circumstances, and yet sooner come than expected. No less did they admire their restoration brought about, contrary to all human appearance, in the time, and by the person that had been pointed out to them. Never did they behold the second temple, without remembering why the former had been destroyed, and how this latter had been rebuilt: and thus did they confirm themselves in the faith of their scriptures, to which their whole state bore testimony.

There were no more false prophets to be seen among them. They had thrown off at once the propensity they had to believe them, and that which they had to idolatry. Zechariah had foretold by one and the same oracle, that both these things should happen to them. His prophecy received a manifest accomplishment. The false prophets ceased under the second temple: the people, scandalized at their impostures, were no longer in the humour of hearkening to them. The true prophets of God were read over and over, continually: they wanted no commentary: and the things which came daily to pass in execution of their prophecies, were too faithful interpreters of them.

Zech. xiii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Is. xli. 11, 12, 13. xliii. 18, 19. xlix. 18, 19, 20, 21. lii. 1, 2, 7. liv. lv. &c. lx. 15, 16, &c. Ez. xxxvi. xxxviii.

In fact, all their prophets had promised them a profound peace. We still behold with pleasure the beautiful picture which Isaiah and Ezekiel draw of the happy times, that were to succeed the captivity of Babylon. All the breaches are repaired, the cities and towns magnificently rebuilt, the people is without number, the enemies are brought low, and plenty

abounds in town and country: in both we see joy rest, and, in short, all the fruits of a long peace. God promises to keep his people in a lasting and perfect tranquillity. They enjoy it under the kings of Persia. So long as that empire stood, the favourable decrees of Cyrus, who was the founder of it, secured the peace of the Jews. Though they were threatened with their final destruction under Ahasuerus, whoever he was, God, moved by their tears, turned all at once the king's heart, and took a signal vengeance on Haman their enemy. Except in this juncture, which was soon over, they knew no fear: instructed by their prophets to obey the kings, to whom God had subjected them, their fidelity was inviolable. And so were they ever mildly treated. In consideration of an easy tribute, which they paid to their sovereigns, who were rather their protectors than their masters, they lived according to their own laws: the sacerdotal power was preserved entire: the priests conducted the people: the public council first established by Moses, enjoyed its full authority, and they exercised amongst themselves the power of life and death, without any one's interfering with their conduct. So the kings ordered it. The destruction of the empire of the Persians made no alteration in their affairs. Alexander respected their temple, admired their prophecies, and augmented their privileges. They had somewhat to suffer under his first successors. Ptolemy son of Lagus took Jerusalem by surprize, and carried away from thence into Egypt an hundred thousand captives: but he soon ceased to hate them. He himself made them citizens of Alexandria, the capital of his kingdom; or rather confirmed to them the grant that Alexander had already made them; and finding in all his dominions none more faithful than the Jews, he filled his armies with them, and committed to their trust the most important places. If the Lagidæ had some consideration of them, they were still better treated by the Seleucidæ, under whose empire they

11, 12, 13, 14. Jer. xlvi. 27.

Esth. iv. v. vi. vii. viii. ix.

Jer. xxvii. 12, 27. xl. 9.

Ez. vii. 25, 26. Jos. Ant. xi. a. 2 Cont. Ap. Id. Ant. xii. 1, 2. 2 Cont. Ap.

Jos. Ant. xii. 3. 2 Cont. Ap.

lived. Seleucus Nicanor, head of that family, settled them in Antioch; and Antiochus Theus, his grandson, having caused them to be received in all the cities of the lesser Asia, we have seen them spread themselves all over Greece, living there after their own law, and enjoying the same privileges with the other citizens, as they did at Alexandria and Antioch.

Jos. Præf. Ant. & lib. xii. 2 & 2. Cont. Ap. In the mean time their law is turned into Greek by the care of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. The Jewish religion is made known among the Gentiles, the temple of Jerusalem is enriched by the gifts of princes and of people, the Jews live in peace and liberty under the power of the Syrian monarchs, and had hardly ever tasted such a tranquillity under their own kings. This tranquillity seemed to promise an everlasting continuance, had they not disturbed it by their dissentions. Three hundred years had they enjoyed this rest so much foretold by their prophets, when ambition and jealousies arising amongst them, had like 1 Mac. i. 12. to have undone them. Some of the most powerful 13. betrayed their people to flatter the kings; they want- 2 Mac. iii. iv. ed to render themselves famous after the manner of 1, &c. the Greeks, and preferred that vain pomp to the solid 14, 15, 16, &c. glory, which the observance of the laws of their ancestors acquired them among their countrymen. They celebrated games like the Gentiles. This novelty dazzled the eyes of the people, and idolatry cloathed with this magnificence appeared lovely to many of the Jews. To these changes were joined disputes for the high-priesthood, which was the chief dignity of the nation. The ambitious devoted themselves to the kings of Syria in order to attain it, and that sacred Dan. vii. 24. dignity was the price of the flattery of those minions. 25. viii. 9, 10, 11, The jealousies and divisions of individuals, did not 12, 23, 24, 25. fail quickly to cause, as usual, great mischiefs to the Polyb. lib. xxvi. whole people. Antiochus Illustris, king of Syria, con- & xxxi. in ex- ceived the design of destroying this divided people, cerp. et ap. Ath. in order to seize upon their wealth. That prince ap- l. x. peared now with all the characters Daniel had given

him; ambitious, covetous, crafty, cruel, insolent, impious, mad, elated with his victories, and then enraged at his losses. He enters Jerusalem in condition to attempt any thing; the factions of the Jews, and not his own force, embolden him: and so Daniel foresaw it. He commits unheard of cruelties: his pride carries him to the last excesses, and he pours forth blasphemies against the Most High, as foretold by the same prophet. In execution of these prophecies, and by reasons of the sins of the people, *an host*, (or power,) *is given him against the daily sacrifice.* He profanes the temple of God, which the kings his ancestors had revered: he pillages it, and repairs with the riches he there finds, the ruins of his exhausted treasury. Under pretext of settling a conformity in the manners of his subjects, but in reality to satiate his own avarice by plundering Judea, he commands the Jews to worship the same gods with the Greeks: above all, he will have them to adore Jupiter Olympius, whose idol he places in the very temple; and more impious than Nebuchadnezzar himself, he attempts to destroy the feasts, and the law of Moses, the sacrifices, religion, and the whole people. But the successes of this prince had their limits set by the prophecies. Mattathias makes head against his violences, and unites all the good people under his banner. Judas Maccabeus his son, with an handful of men, performs unheard of exploits, and purifies the temple of God three years and an half after its profanation, as Daniel had foretold. He pursues the Idumeans, and all the other gentiles, that joined Antiochus, and having taken from them their strongest places, he returns victorious and humble, just such as Isaiah had seen him, singing forth the praises of God, who had delivered into his hands the enemies of his people, and still red with their blood. He continues his victories, notwithstanding the prodigious armies of the captains of Antiochus. Daniel had allowed but six years to this wicked prince to torment the people

Dan. viii. 24. Dan. vii. 8. 11. 28. Dan. viii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

1 Mac. i. 43, 46, 57. 1 Mac. vi. 1, 2.

Dan. vii. 25. xii. 7, 11. Joseph Pro. lib. de. bell. Jud. & lib. xii. 6. Is. lxiii. 1 Mac. ix. 15. v. 3, 28, 28, 35, 54.

Dan. viii. 14.

1 Mac. vi. 2 Mac. ix. Dan. viii. 23. of God; and behold at the time fixed he learns at Ecbatan the heroic deeds of Judas. He falls into a profound melancholy, and dies as the holy prophet had foretold, miserable, but not by the hand of man, after acknowledging, but too late, the power of the God of Israel.

I need not now tell you in what manner his successor prosecuted the war against Judea, or the death of Judas its deliverer, or the victories of his two brothers, Jonathan and Simon, successively high-priests, whose valour restored the ancient glory of the people of God. These three great men saw the kings of Syria, and all the neighbouring nations combined against them; and what was more deplorable, they saw at different times the men of Judah itself in arms against their own country, and against Jerusalem: a thing till then unheard of, but expressly noted by the prophets. In the midst of so many calamities, Zech. xiv. 4. the confidence they had in God rendered them undaunted and invincible. 1 Mac. i. 12. x. xi. 20, 21, 22. xvi. The people was ever happy under their conduct, and at length in Simon's time, being freed from the yoke of the Gentiles, they subjected themselves to him and his children, with the 2 Mac. iv. 22. & foll. consent of the kings of Syria.

But the act whereby the people of God transfer to Simon the whole public authority, and grant to him the royal powers, is remarkable. The decree bears, 1 Mac. xiv. 41. 'that he and his posterity shall enjoy them, until there shall arise a faithful and true prophet.

The people accustomed from their origin to a divine government, and knowing that ever since the time David had been set upon the throne by God's appointment, the sovereign power belonged to his house to which it was at last to be restored against the time of the Messiah, joined this express restriction to the power they gave their highpriests, and continued to live under them in expectation of that so often promised Christ.

Thus did that absolutely free kingdom make use of its right, and provide for its government. The posterity of Jacob, by the tribe of Judah, and the rest that ranked themselves under its standards, preserved itself in a body politic, and enjoyed independently and peaceably the land that had been assigned them.

By virtue of the people's decree we have been speaking of, Joannes Hyrcanus, son of Simon, succeeded to his father. Under him the Jews aggrandize themselves by considerable conquests. They subject Samaria, (Ezekiel and Jeremiah had foretold it: they subdue the Idumeans, or Edomites, the Philistines, and the Ammonites, their perpetual enemies, and these nations embrace their religion. (Zechariah had noted it.) At last, in spite of the hatred and jealousy of the nations round about them, under the authority of their priests, who became at length their princes, they found the new kingdom of Asmoneans, or Maccabees, and that one more extensive than ever, if we except the times of David and Solomon.

Ezek. xvi. 53, 55. 56, 61. Jer. xxxi. 5. 1 Mac. xi. 34. Jos. Ant. xiii. 2, 17, 18. Zech. ix. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7.

In this manner did the people of God still subsist amidst so many revolutions: and that people sometimes punished, and sometimes comforted in its afflictions, by the different treatment they meet with according to their deserts, bear a public testimony to the providence, which governs the world.

But in whatever state they were, they lived always in expectation of the Messiah's times, wherein they promised themselves new favours, greater than any they had yet received; and there is no one but sees, that that faith in the Messiah and his miracles, which continues to this day among the Jews, has been transmitted to them by their patriarchs and prophets from the very origin of their nation. For in that long series of years, in which themselves acknowledged, that by a counsel of providence there arose no prophet among them, and that God gave them no more any new predictions or promises, that faith in the Messiah who was to come, subsisted more lively than

Joseph. l. Cont. Apion.

ever. It proved so well established, when the second temple was built, that there needed no more any prophet to confirm the people in it. They lived under the faith of the ancient prophecies, which they had seen so punctually accomplished before their eyes in so many particulars: the rest, from that time, never appeared to them any way doubtful, nor had they the smallest difficulty to believe that God, so faithful in every thing, would also, in his own good time, fulfil what related to the Messiah, which was the chief of his promises, and the foundation of all the others.

And indeed, their whole history, every thing that happened to them from day to day, was only one continued unfolding of the oracles which the Holy Ghost had left them. If, being reinstated in their own land after the captivity, they enjoyed three hundred years profound peace; if their temple was revered, and their religion honoured in all the east; if at last this peace was disturbed by their dissentions; if the haughty king of Syria made unheard of efforts to destroy them; if he prevailed some time; if a little after he was punished: if the Jewish religion, and the *whole* people of God were restored with a more wonderful glory than ever they had before, and the kingdom of Judah received accessions in the latter times from new conquests; you have seen, Sir, that all this was to be found written in their prophets. Yes, every thing was specified there, the very time the persecutions were to last, the very places where the battles were fought, and the very lands that were to be conquered.

I have related to you in general something of those prophecies: a minute detail would be matter for a longer discourse. I mean here to give only a first tincture of those important truths, which are so much the more to be discovered, the more one enters into particulars. I shall only observe here, that the prophecies of the people of God have had, during all those times, so manifest an accomplishment, that afterward, when the heathens themselves, when a Por-

Porph. de abst. lib. 4. Id. Porph. & Jul. apud. Cyr.

phyry, or a Julian the apostate, otherwise enemies to the scriptures, have wanted to give examples of prophetical predictions, they have been fain to seek them among the Jews. lib. v. & vi. in Julian.

And I may even affirm to you with truth, that if, during five hundred years, the people of God were without a prophet, the whole state of those times was prophetical: the work of God was going forward, and the ways were insensibly preparing for the full accomplishment of the ancient oracles.

The return from the captivity of Babylon was but a shadow of the greater and more necessary liberty, which the Messiah was to bring to men, the captives of sin. The people scattered in divers places of the Upper Asia, Asia Minor, in Egypt, in Greece itself, began to show forth among the Gentiles the name and glory of the God of Israel. The scriptures, which were one day to be the light of the world, were put into the language most known upon earth: their antiquity is acknowledged. While the temple is revered, and the scriptures spread abroad among the Gentiles, God gives some idea of their future conversion, and lays afar off the foundations of it.

What passed even among the Greeks, was a kind of preparation to the knowledge of the truth. Their philosophers were sensible that the world was ruled by a God very different from those whom the vulgar adored, and whom they worshiped themselves with the vulgar. The Greek histories evince, that this excellent philosophy came from the east, and from the places where the Jews had been dispersed: but from whatever place it may have come, so important a truth propagated among the Gentiles, however opposed, however ill followed, even by those who taught it, began to awaken mankind, and furnished by anticipation, certain proofs to those, who were one day to rescue them from their ignorance.

But as the conversion of the Gentile world was a work reserved for the Messiah, and the proper cha-

racteristic of his coming, error and impiety prevailed over all. The most enlightened and wisest nations, the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Phenicians, Grecians, and Romans, were the most ignorant, and the blindest in the article of religion: so true it is, that we must be trained to it by a special grace, and by a more than human wisdom! Who would dare to narrate the ceremonies of the immortal Gods, and their impure mysteries? Their loves, their cruelties, their jealousies, and all their other excesses, were the subjects of their feasts, of their sacrifices, of the hymns that were sung to them, and of the paintings that were consecrated in their temples. Thus wickedness was worshiped, and owned necessary to the service of the gods. The gravest of the philosophers forbid drinking to excess, if it was not in the feasts of Bacchus, and to the honour of that God. Another, after severely lashing all unseemly images, excepts those of the gods, who chose to be honoured by such indecencies. One cannot read without astonishment the honours that were to be paid to Venus, and the prostitutions that were established for her worship. Greece, as polite and wise as she was, had received those abominable mysteries. Upon pressing emergencies, private persons and public weals devoted courtesans to Venus; and Greece did not blush to ascribe her preservation to the prayers they put up to their goddess. After the defeat of Xerxes and his formidable armies, there was placed in the temple a picture, wherein were represented their vows and processions, with this inscription of Simonides, the famous poet: 'These prayed to the goddess Venus, who for their sake saved Greece.

Plat de leg, vi.

Arist. vii. Polit.

Baruch. vi. 10, 43.

Strabo lib. 15.

Athen. l. xiii.

If love was of necessity to be worshipped, it should at least have been honourable love: but here it was not so. Solon, who could believe it, or expect from so great a name so great a scandal? Solon, I say, erected at Athens a temple to Venus the prostitute, or unchaste love. All Greece was filled with temples

consecrated to this goddess, and conjugal love had not one in the whole country.

Yet they detested adultery both in men and women: the conjugal tie was sacred among them. But when they applied themselves to religion, they appeared possessed with a strange spirit, and their natural light forsook them.

Nor did the Roman gravity treat religion any more seriously, seeing it consecrated to the honour of the Gods, the impurities of the theatre, and the bloody spectacles of the gladiators, that is, whatever can be imagined most corrupt and barbarous.

But I don't know whether the ridiculous follies men blended with religion, had not a still more pernicious effect, by bringing it into so great a contempt. Could people preserve the respect due to divine things, amidst the impertinencies that stuffed the fables, whereof the representation or commemoration made so great a part of the divine worship? The whole public service was but one continued scene of profanation, or rather a derision of the name of God; and there must needs have been some power, an enemy to that sacred name, who, having designed to disparage it, prompted men to use it in so contemptible things, and even to prostitute it to so unworthy subjects.

'Tis true, the philosophers had at last confessed that there was another God than those the vulgar worshipped; but they durst not avow it. On the contrary, Socrates delivered it as a maxim, that every one ought to follow the religion of his country. Plato his disciple, who saw Greece, and all the countries in the world filled with an absurd and scandalous worship, does nevertheless lay it down as a foundation of his republic, "That men are never to make any change in the religion they find established, and that they must have lost all common sense so much as to think of it." So grave philosophers, and who said so excellent things concerning the Divine Nature, did

Xen. mem. lib. x. Plat. de leg. v.

not dare to oppose the public error, and despaired of being able to conquer it. When Socrates was accused of denying the gods the public adored, he vindicated himself from it, as from a crime; and Plato, speaking of the God who had formed the universe, says, that it is hard to find him, and that it is forbidden to declare him to the people. He protests, that he never speaks of him but enigmatically, for fear of exposing so great a truth to ridicule.

Apol. Soc. apud. Plat. & Xen. Ep. 2. ad Dionys.

In what abyss was mankind plunged, when it could not bear the least idea of the true God? Athens, the most polite, and most learned of the Grecian cities, took for atheists those who spoke of intellectual things, and this was one of the reasons for which Socrates was condemned. If some philosophers presumed to teach, that statues were not gods, as the vulgar apprehended, they found themselves obliged to recant this doctrine, and even after that were they banished, as profane persons, by sentence of the Areopagus. The whole earth was possessed with the same error: truth durst not set up its head. The great God, the Creator of the world, had neither temple, nor worship, but in Jerusalem. When the Gentiles sent thither their offerings, they did no other honour to the God of Israel, than that of joining him to the other gods. Judea alone was acquainted with his holy and severe jealousy, and knew that to divide religion between him and other gods, was to destroy it.

Diog. Laer. l. ii. Soc. iii. Plat. Id. lib. ii. Suid.

And yet, in the latter days, the Jews themselves, who knew him, and who were the guardians of religion, begun (so prone are men ever to weaken the truth) not to forget the God of their fathers, but to mingle in religion superstitions unworthy of him. Under the reign of the Asmoneans, and in the time of Jonathan, the sect of the Pharisees arose among the Jews. They acquired at first a great reputation, by the purity of their doctrine, and by their strict observance of the law: add to this, that their conduct was mild, though regular, and that they lived in great

Jos. Antiq. xiii. 5.

Ibid. 18.

union among themselves. The rewards and punishments of the future state, which they zealously asserted, gained them much honour. At last, ambition entered among them. They would needs govern, and accordingly assumed an absolute power over the people, set themselves up for arbitrators of learning and religion, which they insensibly perverted to superstitious practices, subservient to their interest, and the dominion they wanted to usurp over consciences; and the true spirit of the law was like to be lost. Id. lib. ii. de bell. Jud. 7.

To these evils was added a greater, pride and presumption; but a presumption which went so far as to arrogate to itself the gift of God. The Jews accustomed to his benefits, and enlightened so many ages by his acquaintance, forgot that his goodness alone had set them apart from other nations, and looked upon his favour as their due. Being a chosen race, and ever blessed for two thousand years, they judged themselves alone worthy of knowing God, and thought themselves of a different species from other men, whom they saw deprived of the knowledge of him. From this principle, they look upon the Gentiles with an insupportable disdain. To be come of Abraham after the flesh, seemed to them a distinction, which set them naturally above all others; and puffed up with so noble an extraction, they fancied themselves holy by nature, and not by grace: an error, which still prevails among them. It was the Pharisees, who seeking to glorify themselves on their own lights, and on their strict observance of the ceremonies of the law, introduced this opinion towards the latter times. As their sole aim was to distinguish themselves from other men, they multiplied external usages without number, and delivered all their notions, however contrary to the law of God, as so many authentic traditions.

Although these sentiments had never passed by a public decree into tenets of the synagogue, they insensibly stole in among the people, who became dis-

quiet, turbulent and seditious. At length the divisions, which, according to their prophets, were to be the beginning of their sorrows, broke out on occasion of the quarrels that entered into the house of the Asmoneans. It was hardly sixty years to Jesus Christ, when Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sons of Alexander Janneus, fell out about the priesthood, to which the kingdom was annexed. This is the fatal moment, wherein history fixes the first cause of the destruction of the Jews. Pompey, whom the two brothers called to be umpire between them, subjected them both, at the same time that he dispossessed Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, the last king of Syria. These three princes, degraded together, and as it were at one blow, were the signal of the decay marked in precise terms by the prophet Zechariah. It is certain from history, that this change of affairs in Syria and Judea was made at the same time by Pompey, when, after putting an end to the Mithridatic war, being about to return to Rome, he settled the affairs of the east. The prophet observed only what concerned the destruction of the Jews, who, of two brothers, whom they had seen both kings, saw one, a prisoner, adorn Pompey's triumph, and the other (the weak Hyrcanus) from whom the same Pompey took, together with his diadem, great part of his dominions, now retain but an empty title of authority, which he soon after lost. Then it was that the Jews were made tributary to the Romans: and the ruin of Syria brought on theirs, because that great kingdom, reduced into a province in their neighbourhood, so greatly augmented there the Roman power, that there was no more safety but in obeying them. The governors of Syria made continual attempts upon Judea; the Romans rendered themselves absolute masters there, and weakened its government in many respects. By them, in fine, the kingdom of Judah passed from the hands of the Asmoneans, to whom it had submitted, into those of Herod, a foreigner and Idumean. The cruel and ambi-

Zech. xi. 6, 7, 8, &c.

Jos. Ant. xiv. 8. xx. i. bell. Jud. 4, 5. Appia. bell. Syr. Mithrid. & Liv. il. 5. Zech. xi. 8.

tious policy of that king, who professed only in appearance the Jewish religion, altered the maxims of the ancient government. They are no longer those Jews, masters of their own fate under the vast empire of the Persians and first Seleucidæ, when the only thing required of them was to live in peace. Herod, who keeps them almost enslaved under his government, puts every thing in disorder; confounds at his pleasure the succession of the priests; weakens the pontificate, which he renders arbitrary; enervates the authority of the council of the nation, which can no longer do any thing: the whole public power passes into the hands of Herod, and of the Romans, whose slave he is, and he shakes the foundations of the Jewish commonwealth.

The Pharisees, and the people, who were entirely led by their sentiments, bore this state with the utmost impatience. The more they felt themselves galled by the yoke of the Gentiles, the greater contempt and hatred did they conceive for them. They were no more for any Messiah, who should not be a warrior, and formidable to the powers that enthralled them. Thus forgetting all the prophecies, which told them so expressly of his humiliations, they had no longer either eyes or ears, but for those which announced them triumphs, though very different from those they desired.

VI. Jesus Christ and his doctrine.

In this decline of religion, and of the Jewish affairs, at the end of Herod's reign, and in the time the Pharisees were introducing so many abuses, Jesus Christ was sent upon earth, to restore the kingdom into the house of David, after a more sublime manner than the carnal Jews understood it, and to preach the doctrine, which God had resolved should be declared to the whole world. This wonderful child, called by Isaiah, "The mighty God, the everlasting father," and "the prince of peace," is born of a virgin at Bethlehem, and comes there to acknowledge the origin of his race. Conceived by the Holy Ghost, holy in his birth, alone

Is. ix. 6

worthy to make atonement for the guilt of ours, he re-
Matth. i. 21. ceives the name of JESUS, or *Saviour*, because "he was to save us from our sins." Immediately upon his birth, a new star, the type of that light he was to show to the Gentiles, appears in the east, and guides to the yet infant Saviour, the first-fruits of the conversion of the Gentiles. A little after, that Lord, so greatly desired, comes to his holy temple, where Simeon beholds
Luke ii. 32. him, not only as "the glory of Israel," but also as "a light to lighten the Gentiles." When the time of preaching his gospel drew near, St. John Baptist, who was to prepare his ways, called all sinners to repentance, and with his crying made the whole wilderness resound, where he had lived from his tenderest infancy with equal austerity and innocence. The people, who for five hundred years had seen no prophet, acknowledged this new Elias, and were ready to take him for the Saviour, so great did his sanctity appear; but he himself pointed out to the people, Him, "whose
John i. 27. shoe latchet he was not worthy to unloose." At length Jesus Christ begins to preach his gospel, and to reveal
Matth. x. 2. Mark iii. 16. Luke vi. 14. Acts i. 13. Matth. xvi. 18. the secrets he saw from all eternity in the bosom of his father. He lays the foundations of his church by the calling of twelve fishermen, and puts St. Peter at the head of the whole flock, with so manifest a prerogative, that the evangelists, who in the catalogue they make of the apostles observe no certain order, unanimously agree in naming St. Peter before all the rest as the first. Jesus Christ makes a tour through all Judea, filling it with his benefits; healing the sick, having compassion upon sinners, whose true physician he shows himself, by the free access he allows them to his presence, making men feel at once an authority and sweetness, that never had appeared but in his person. He declares high mysteries; but confirms them by great miracles: he enjoins great virtues; but gives, at the same time, great illumination. And thereby,
John i. 14, 15, 16. does he appear "full of grace and truth, and we all receive of his fulness."

Every thing is consistent in his person; his life, his doctrine, his miracles. The same truth shines through the whole: every thing concurs to exhibit in him the master of mankind, and pattern of perfection.

He, and only He, living among men, and in sight of all the world, could say without danger of being belied, 'which of you convinceth me of sin? And again, I am the light of the world; my heart is to do the will of him that sent me. He that sent me is with me: the father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him.' John viii. 46. Ib. 12. 29. iv. 34.

His miracles are of a peculiar order, and of a new character. They are not "signs in heaven, such as the Jews sought after; he works them almost all upon men themselves, and towards healing of their infirmities. All these miracles speak more goodness than power, and do not so much surprize the beholders, as they touch the bottom of their hearts. He performs them with authority: devils and diseases obey him: at his word the blind receive their sight, the dead arise, and sins are forgiven. The principle of the miracles is within himself; they flow from their proper source; "I perceive," saith he, "that virtue is gone out of me." And, indeed, none had ever performed either so great or so many miracles; and yet he promises that his disciples shall, in his name, do still *greater works than these:* so fruitful and inexhaustible is the virtue he contains in himself. Matth. xvi. 1. Luke vi. 19. viii. 46 John xiv. 12.

Who would not admire the condescension with which he tempers the sublimity of his doctrine? It is milk for babes, and at the same time meat for the strong. We see him full of the secrets of God; but we see him, not astonished at them, like other mortals to whom God is pleased to communicate himself: he speaks naturally of them, as being born in that mystery and glory; and *what he hath without measure,* he dispenses with measure, that so our weakness may be able to bear it. John iii. 34.

Although he be sent for the whole world, he addresses

himself at first only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, to whom indeed he was sent in a more especial manner: but he prepares the way for the conversion of the Samaritans and Gentiles. A woman of Samaria acknowledges him the Christ, whom her nation expected, as well as that of the Jews, and learns of him the mystery of the new worship, which should no longer be confined to any one certain place. A woman of Canaan and an idolatress, though at first rejected, forces from him, so to speak, the cure of her daughter. He discovers, in several places, the children of Abraham among the Gentiles, and speaks of his doctrine as being to be preached, gainsayed and received over the whole earth. The world had never seen any such thing; and his apostles are astonished at it. He does not at all conceal from his followers, the fiery trials which they were to pass through. He shows them violence and seduction employed against them, persecutions, false doctrines, false brethren, war within, and war without, the faith purified by all these trials; in the last days, the decay of this faith, and charity waxing cold among his disciples; in the midst of so many dangers, his church and the truth never to be prevailed against.

John iv. 21, 25.

Matth. xv. 22.

Matth. viii. 10, 11.

Matth. xvi. 18.

Here then behold a new conduct, and a new order of things! The children of God are no longer buoyed up with the hopes of temporal rewards; Jesus Christ sets forth to them a future life, and keeping them suspended in that expectation, he teaches them to disengage themselves from all things of sense. The cross, and patience under it, become their portion upon earth, and *heaven* is proposed to them as being *to be taken by force.* Jesus Christ, who points out to men this new way, is the first himself to enter into it: he preaches pure truths, which confound gross, but self-conceited men: he detects the hidden pride and hypocrisy of the Pharisees and doctors of the law, who corrupted it by their interpretations. In the midst of these reproaches he honours their min-

Matt. xi. 12.

istry, and *Moses's seat where they sit.* He is often in the temple, causing its holiness to be reverenced, and sends back to the priests the lepers he has cleansed. He thereby instructs men how they ought to reprove and check abuses, without prejudice of the ministry appointed by God: and shows, that the body of the synagogue subsisted notwithstanding the corruption of its particular members. But it was visibly tending to its ruin. The chief priests and Pharisees stirred up against Jesus Christ, the Jewish people, whose religion was degenerating into superstition. That people cannot bear the Saviour of the world, calling them to a solid, but difficult practice. The holiest and best of all men, nay, holiness and goodness itself, becomes the most envied and hated. He is not discouraged, nor ceases doing good to his coutrymen; but he sees their ingratitude; he foretels its punishment with tears, and denounces to Jerusalem her approaching fall. He prophecies also, that the Jews, enemies to the truth he declared to them, should be delivered up to error, and become the sport of false prophets. Mean time the jealousy of the Pharisees and chief priests is bringing him to an infamous punishment: his disciples forsake him; one of them betrays him: the first, and most zealous of them all, denies him thrice. Accused before the council, he honours the priest's office to the last, and answers in precise terms the highpriest, that interrogates him judicially. But the moment was come, for the synagogue's reprobation. The highpriest and whole council condemn Jesus Christ, because he called himself the Christ, the son of God. He is delivered up to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor: his innocence is acknowledged by his judge, whom policy and interest induce to act contrary to his conscience: the just one is condemned to death; the most heinous of all crimes makes way for the most perfect obedience that ever the world saw. Jesus master of his life, and of all things, gives up himself voluntarily to the fury of

Matt. xxiii. 2.

wicked men, and offers the sacrifice, which was to be the expiation of mankind. On the cross, he beholds in the prophecies, what yet remained for him to do: John xix 30. he fulfils it, and says at last, *It is finished.* At this word, the world undergoes an universal change; the law ceases, its figures pass away, its sacrifices are abolished by a more perfect oblation. This done, Jesus Christ, with a loud cry, gives up the ghost: all nature is moved: the centurion who watched him, astonished at such a death, cries out, *Truly, this was the son of God;* and the spectators return smiting their breasts. On the third day he rises again; he appears to his followers, who had deserted him, and who obstinately persisted in disbelieving his resurrection. They see him, talk with him, touch him, and are convinced. To confirm the faith of his resurrection, he shows himself to them at sundry times, and in divers circumstances. His disciples see him in private, and they see him also all together: he appears once to above five hundred brethren assembled. An apostle, who has recorded it, assures, that the greatest part of them were yet alive, when he wrote it. Jesus Christ risen again, gives his apostles what time they please to consider him well, and after having put himself into their hands in all the shapes they desire, so that there can no longer remain the smallest doubt, he commands them to bear witness of what they have seen, of what they have heard, and of what their hands have handled. And that none may doubt of their candour, any more than of their persuasion, he obliges them to seal their testimony with their blood. Thus their preaching is unshaken; the foundation of it is a positive fact, unanimously attested by those that saw it. Their sincerity is justified by the strongest proof imaginable; which is that of torments, and of death itself. Such are the instructions the apostles received. Upon this foundation twelve fishermen undertake the conversion of the whole world, which they saw so set against the laws they had to prescribe,

Matth. xxvii. 54. Mark. xv, 39.

1 Cor. xv. 6.

and the truths they had to proclaim. They are commanded to begin at Jerusalem, and thence to go into all the world, and "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Jesus Christ promises to be with them alway, even unto the end of the world; and by this saying assures the perpetual continuance of the ecclesiastical function. Having thus spoken, he ascends into heaven in their presence.

Luke xxiv. 47. Acts i. 8. Mark xvi. 15. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

The promises are about to be accomplished: the prophecies are going to receive their final ecclaircissement. The Gentiles are called to the knowledge of God by the orders of Jesus Christ risen. A new ceremony is instituted for the regeneration of the new people: and the faithful learn that the true God, the God of Israel, that one undivided God, to whom they are consecrated in baptism, is at once Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

There then are set forth to us the incomprehensible depths of the Divine Being, the ineffable greatness of his unity, and the infinite riches of that nature, still more fruitful within than without, capable of communicating itself without division to three equal persons.

There are unfolded the mysteries, which were wrapped, and, as it were, sealed up in the ancient scriptures. We now understand the secret of that saying, "Let us make man in our image;" and the Trinity intimated in the creation of man, is expressly declared in his regeneration.

Gen. i. 26.

We learn what is that wisdom, "which the Lord possessed in the beginning of his way, before his works of old;" the wisdom, who is his daily delight, and by whom all his works are ordained. We know who he was, whose birth David saw *from the womb of the morning;* and the New Testament teacheth us, that he is the Word, the internal Word of God, and his eternal thought, who is always in his bosom, and by whom all things were made.

Prov. viii. 22. Ps. cx.

We thereby can answer the mysterious question
Prov. xxx. 4. proposed in the proverbs: 'What is the name of God, and what is his Son's name, if thou canst tell? For we know that this name of God, so mysterious and so concealed, is the name of the Father, understood in that profound sense, which makes us conceive him from eternity Father of a son equal to himself, and that the name of his son is the name of *the Word; the Word* which he eternally begets by the contemplating of
Heb. i. 3. himself which is the perfect expression of his truth, his image, his only Son, 'the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.'

Together with the Father and the Son we know also the Holy Ghost, the love of both, and their eternal union. It is that spirit who makes the prophets, and is in them to discover to them the counsels of
Is. xlviii. 16. God, and the secrets of futurity; the spirit of whom it is written, 'The Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me,' who is distinguished from the Lord, and is also the Lord himself, since he sends the prophets, and discovers future things. That Spirit, who speaks to the prophets, and by the prophets, is united with the Father and the Son, and interposes with them in the consecration of the new man.

Thus the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God in three persons, shown more darkly to our fathers, is clearly revealed in the new covenant. Instructed in so high a mystery, and astonished at its in-
Is. vi. 1, 2, 3. comprehensible depth, we cover our faces before God with the seraphims, which Isaiah saw, and with them we worship him who is thrice holy.

It belonged to the only Son 'who was in the bosom
John i. 18. of the Father,' and who, without leaving it, came to us; to him it belonged to discover to us fully those wonderful secrets of the Divine Nature, which Moses and the prophets had but slightly glanced at.

To him it belonged to make us understand whence it came to pass, that the Messiah promised as a man, who was to save other men, was at the same time ex-

hibited as God in the singular number, and absolutely after the same manner in which the creator is designed to us: and this indeed he has done, by teaching us that, though the son of Abraham, 'before Abraham was, He is,' that he 'came down from heaven, and yet that he is in heaven:' that he is at once God, the Son of God, and Man, the son of man; the true Emanuel, God with us; in short the Word made flesh, uniting in his person the human nature with the divine, in order *to reconcile all things unto himself.* Job. viii. 58 Ibid. iii. 13. Col. i. 20.

Thus are revealed to us the two great mysteries, that of the Trinity and that of the incarnation. But he who has revealed them, makes us to find the image of them in ourselves, that so they may be ever present with us, and that we may understand the dignity of our nature.

In fact, if we impose silence on our senses, and shut ourselves up for a while in the inmost recesses of our soul, that is, in that part where truth makes its voice to be heard, we shall there see some image of the Trinity we adore. The thought, which we perceive to spring up as the bud of our mind, as the son of our understanding, gives us some idea of the Son of God eternally conceived in the mind of the heavenly Father. Wherefore this Son of God assumes the name of the Word, that so we may understand him springing up in the bosom of the Father, not as bodies spring up, but as does that internal Word, which we perceive in our soul, when we contemplate the truth. Greg. Naz. Orat. 36. Aug. de Trin. ix. 4. & seq. & in Joan. Evan. Tr. 1, &c. de Civ. xi. 26, 27, 28.

But the fruitfulness of our mind is not confined to that eternal world, that intellectual thought, that image of the truth, which is formed in us. We love both that internal word, and the mind, in which it springs; and by loving it we perceive in ourselves something, no less precious to us than our mind and our thought, which is the fruit of both, which unites them, is united to them, and constitutes with them but one and the same life.

Thus, and as far as there can be found any analogy

between God and man, thus, I say, is produced in God the eternal love, which proceeds from the Father who thinks, and from the son who is his thought, in order to make with him and his thought, one and the same nature equally happy and perfect.

In short, God is perfect; and his Word, the living image of infinite truth, is no less perfect than he; and his love, which proceeding from the inexhaustible source of good, hath all the fulness of it, cannot fail of having an infinite perfection: and since we have no other idea of God, than that of perfection, each of these three subsistences considered in itself deserves to be called God: but because these three agree necessarily to one and the same nature, these three are but one God.

We must not then conceive any thing unequal, or separate in this adorable Trinity: and however incomprehensible the equality may be, our soul, if we listen to it, will tell us something of it.

Aug. loc. cit. It is, and as it knows perfectly what it is, its understanding is correspondent to the truth of its being; and as it loves its being, together with its understanding, as much as they deserve to be loved, its love equals the perfection of both. These three are never to be separated and contain one other: we understand that we are, and that we love; and we love to be, and to understand. Who can deny this if he understands himself? And not only one is no better than another, but the three together are no better than any one of them in particular, seeing each contains the whole, and in the three consists the happiness and dignity of the rational nature. Thus, and in an infinitely higher degree is the Trinity, whom we worship, and to whom we are consecrated by our baptism, perfect, inseparable, one in essence, and in short equal in every sense.

But we ourselves, who are the image of the Trinity, in another respect are also the image of the incarnation.

Our soul, of a spiritual and incorruptible nature, has

a corruptible body united to it; and from the union of both results a whole, which is man, a mind and body together, at the same time incorruptible and corruptible, at once intelligent, and merely brutish. These attributes agree to the whole, with relation to each of its two parts: thus the divine Word, whose virtue sustains the whole is united in a peculiar manner, or rather, becomes itself, by a perfect union, that Jesus Christ the Son of Mary, which makes one to be God and man together: begotten in eternity, and begotten in time; ever living in the bosom of the Father, and dying upon the cross for our salvation.

Aug. Ep. iii. ad Volus c. 3. de Civ. x. 29. Cyr. Ep. ad. Valerian. p. iii. Con. Eph. &c. Symb. Ath. &c.

But wherever God is concerned, comparisons drawn from human things cannot but be imperfect. Our soul is not before our body, and something is wanting to that, when separated from this. The Word, perfect in itself from all eternity, unites itself to our nature, only to honour it. That soul which presides over the body, and makes various changes in it, suffers itself some from it in its turn. If the body is moved at the command, and according to the will of the soul, the soul is troubled, the soul is afflicted, and agitated a thousand ways, either painful or pleasing, according to the dispositions of the body; so that as the soul exalts the body to it by governing it, it is also debased beneath it by the things it suffers from it. But in Jesus Christ the Word presides over all, the Word keeps all under its management. Thus man is exalted, and the Word is not debased by any situation: immoveable and unalterable, it rules in all things, and in all places that nature which is united to it.

Hence it comes, that in Jesus Christ, man is absolutely submissive to the inward direction of the Word, which exalts him to itself, has none but divine thoughts, none but divine affections. All he thinks, all he wills, all he says, all he conceals within, all he discovers without, is animated by the Word, guided by the Word, worthy of the Word, that is, worthy of reason itself, of wisdom itself, and of truth itself. There-

fore all is light in Christ Jesus, his conduct is a rule; his miracles are iustructions; his words are spirit, and they are life.

It is not given to all rightly to understand these sublime truths, nor perfectly to see in themselves that marvellous image of divine things, which St. Augustine, and the other fathers have believed so certain. The senses govern us too much, and our imagination, which will intrude itself in all our thoughts, does not permit us always to dwell upon so pure a light. We do not know ourselves; we are ignorant of the riches we bear about our nature, and none but the finest eyes can perceive them. But the little we do enter into this secret, and do not make shift to discern in ourselves the image of the two mysteries, which are the foundation of our faith, is sufficient to raise us above all earthly things, and to put us beyond the reach of mortality.

And therefore does Jesus Christ call us to an immortal glory, which is the fruit of the faith we have in the mysteries.

That God-man, that incarnate truth and wisdom, which makes us believe so great things upon his sole authority, promises us the clear and beatific vision of them in eternity, as the certain reward of our faith.

In this way, is the mission of Jesus Christ infinitely exalted above that of Moses.

Moses was sent to rouse by temporal rewards, sensual and brutish men. As they were become all body and flesh, it was necessary to lay hold of them at first by the senses, in order to inculcate upon them by this means a knowledge of God, and an abhorrence of idolatry, to which mankind had so prodigious an inclination.

Such was the ministry of Moses: it was reserved for Jesus Christ to inspire man with higher notions, and to convince him with the fullest evidence, of the dignity, immortality, and eternal felicity of his soul.

During the times of ignorance, that is, during the

times which preceded Jesus Christ, what the soul knew of its dignity and immortality, led it most commonly into error. The worship of dead persons was almost the whole ground of idolatry: almost all men sacrificed to the *manes*, that is, to the souls of the dead. So ancient errors show us indeed how ancient was the belief of the soul's immortality, and demonstrate, that it is to be ranked among the first traditions of mankind. But man who perverted every thing, had strangely abused this, when it brought him to sacrifice to the dead. Nay some went to that excess, that they sacrificed living men to them; they killed their slaves, and even their wives, in order to worship them in the other world. This the Gauls practised with many other nations; and the Indians, distinguished by pagan authors among the first asserters of the immortality of the soul, were also the first that, under pretence of religion, introduced those abominable murders upon earth. The same Indians killed themselves to hasten the happiness of the future life; and that deplorable blindness continues among those nations to this day: so dangerous is it to teach the truth in any other order than that which God hath followed, and to explain clearly to man, what he is, before he has known God perfectly. Cæs. de bell. Gall. vi.

It was for want of knowing God, that most of the philosophers could not believe the soul immortal, without believing it a portion of the deity, a deity itself, an eternal being, uncreated as well as incorruptible, and having no more beginning than end. What shall I say of those, who believed the transmigration of souls; who made them roam from heaven to earth and then from earth to heaven again; from animals into men, and from men to animals; from happiness to misery, and from misery to happiness; without these revolutions having ever any fixed period, or certain order? How was the divine justice, providence, and goodness darkened amidst so many errors! and how necessary was it to know God, and the rules of

his wisdom previous to the knowledge of the soul, and its immortal nature!

For which reason the law of Moses gave man but a first notion of the nature of the soul and its felicity. We have seen the soul at the beginning made by the power of God, as well as the other creatures, but with this peculiar characteristic, that it was made after his own image, and by the breath of his mouth; that so it might understand of whom it held its existence, and might never think itself of the same nature with bodies, or formed by the concourse of them. But the consequences of this doctrine, and the wonders of the future state were not then universally unfolded; and it was in the day of the Messiah, that this great light was to appear openly.

God hath scattered some sparks of it in the ancient scriptures. Solomon had said, that as 'the dust shall return to the earth as it was, the spirit shall return to God who gave it.' The patriarchs and prophets lived in this same hope. Daniel had foretold that there should come a time when 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth should awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.' But at the same time, that these things are revealed to him, he is commanded to 'shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the appointed time of the end,' in order to let us understand, that the full discovery of those truths belonged to another season, and to another age.

Eccl. xii. 7.

Dan. xii. 2, 3.

Ibid. 4.

Although then the Jews had in their scriptures some promises of eternal happiness, and though towards the times of the Messiah, wherein it was to be declared, they spoke much more about it, as appears by the books of wisdom, and the Maccabees; this truth was so far from being a general tenet of the ancient people, that the Sadducees, who did not acknowledge it, were not only admitted into the synagogue, but even promoted to the priesthood. It is one of the characteristics of the new people, to lay for the founda-

tion of religion the belief of a future state, and this was to be the fruit of the coming of the Messiah.

Wherefore, not contented with telling us, that a life eternally happy was reserved for the children of God, he hath also told us wherein it consists. And this is life eternal, to be with him where he is, in the glory of God the father: life eternal is to behold the glory he hath in the bosom of the Father from the foundation of the world: life eternal is, that Jesus Christ be in us, as in his members, and that the eternal love wherewith the Father loveth his Son, extending itself towards us, may enrich us with the same gifts: life eternal, in a word, is to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent; but to know him after that manner, which is called the clear sight, *the seeing face to face*, and openly, the sight which reforms and perfects in us the image of God, according to what St. John saith, *We shall be like him: for we shall see him as he is.*

John xvii.

1 Cor. xiii. 8, 12.

1 John iii. 2.

That sight shall be attended with an immense love, a joy unspeakable, and endless glory. An eternal *Hallelujah*, and an eternal *Amen*, with which the heavenly Jerusalem resounds, speak all sorrows done away, and all desires satisfied; and nothing more remains, but to praise the divine goodness.

Rev. vii. 12; xix. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

With so new rewards, Jesus Christ must propose also new ideas of virtue; a practice more perfect, and more refined. The end of religion, the soul of all virtues, and the sum of the law, is charity. But, until Jesus Christ, we may affirm, that the perfection and effects of this virtue were not fully known. 'Tis Jesus Christ properly, who teacheth us to place our delight in God alone. In order to set up the kingdom of charity, and to discover to us all the duties of it, he proposes to us the love of God, even to the hating of ourselves, and persecuting, without respite, the principle of corruption, which dwells in all our hearts. He proposes to us the love of our neighbour, so as to extend that beneficent inclination towards all men, not except-

ing even our very persecutors: he proposes to us the mortification of sensual desires, even to the cutting off of our own members, that is, whatever has got the strongest and most intimate hold of our heart: he proposes to us submission to the will of God, so as even to rejoice in the sufferings he sends us: he proposes to us humility, so as even to love shame for the glory of God, and to believe, that no injury can make us so vile in the sight of men, but that we are still viler in the sight of God through our sins. Upon this foundation of charity he perfects all estates and conditions of human life. Thereby marriage is reduced to its primitive form; conjugal love is no more derided; so holy a society knows now no end, but that of life; and children see no more their mother put away, to have a stepmother substituted in her place. Celibacy is set forth to us as an imitation of the life of angels, which is solely taken up with God, and the chaste delights of his love. Superiors learn that they are the servants of others, and appointed for their good; their inferiors acknowledge the ordinance of God in lawful powers, even when they abuse their authority: this thought sweetens the pains of subjection, and under the hardest masters obedience is no longer a hardship to the true christian.

To these precepts he joins counsels of eminent perfection: to renounce all pleasure; to live in the body, as if out of the body; to forsake all; to give all to the poor, in order to possess nothing but God only; to live upon little or nothing, and to look for that little from the hand of divine providence.

But the law, most peculiar to the Gospel, is that of bearing the cross. The cross is the true test of faith, the true foundation of hope, the perfection of charity, in a word, the road to heaven. Jesus Christ died upon the cross; he bore his cross all his lifetime; 'tis to the cross he will have us to follow him, and sets eternal life at that price. The first to whom he particularly promises the rest of the future world, is a companion

of his cross: 'To-day,' says he, 'shalt thou be with me in paradise. So soon as he was on the cross, the veil, that covered the sanctuary, was rent from top to bottom, and heaven was open to the souls of saints. It was upon coming from the cross, and from the horrors of his passion, that he appeared to his apostles, all glorious, and conqueror of death, to the end that they might understand, it was by the cross he was to enter into his glory, and that he showed no other way to his children. Luke xxiii. 43.

Thus was given to the world, in the person of Jesus Christ, the lively image of an accomplished virtue, which has nothing, and expects nothing upon earth; which men reward only by continual persecutions; which does not cease to do them good; and on which its own good offices draw the most ignominious punishment. Jesus Christ dies, without finding either gratitude in those he obliges, fidelity in his friends, or equity in his judges. His innocence, though acknowledged, does not save him; his Father himself, in whom alone he had placed his hope, withdraws all marks of his protection: the just One is delivered up to his enemies, and dies forsaken both by God and man.

But it was requisite to let the good man see, that in the greatest extremities, he has no need either of human consolation, or even of any sensible mark of the divine aid: let him but love and trust, resting assured that God is mindful of him, though he give him no token of it, and that an eternal felicity is reserved for him.

The wisest of philosophers, when investigating the idea of virtue, found out, that, as of all the wicked, he would be the most wicked, who could so well cloke his maliciousness, as to pass for a good man, and by that means enjoy all the credit which virtue has power to bestow: so the most virtuous must unquestionably be he, upon whom his virtue, by its perfection, draws the envy of all men, insomuch that he Socrat. apud Plat. Dial. II. de Rep.

have nothing on his side but his conscience, and see himself exposed to all manner of injuries, so as even to be nailed to the cross, without his virtue being able to afford him the poor assistance of exempting him from such a punishment. Would not one think that God had put this wonderful idea of virtue into the mind of a philosopher, only to render it exemplified in the person of his Son, and to show that the righteous has another glory, another rest, in short, another happiness, that can possibly be attained upon earth?

To establish this truth, and show it so visibly accomplished in himself, at the expense of his own life, was the greatest work a man could possibly perform; and so great did God judge it, that he reserved it for the so long promised Messiah, for that man whom he made the same person with his only Son.

Indeed, what greater could be reserved for a God coming upon earth? and what could he there perform more worthy of him, than to set forth virtue in all its purity, and that eternal bliss, to which the most exquisite sorrows conduct?

But if we come to consider what is higher and more interior in the mystery of the cross, what human wit shall be able to comprehend it? There are shown us virtues, which the Man-God alone was capable of performing! what other could, like him, have put himself in the stead of all the ancient sacrifices, abolished them by substituting in their room a victim of an infinite dignity and merit, and established, that henceforth there should be none but only himself, to offer unto God. Such is the act of religion which Jesus Christ exercises on the cross. Could the eternal Father have found, either among angels or men, an obedience equal to that which his well beloved Son renders him, when, nothing being able to take away his life, he lays it down voluntarily to please him? What shall I say of the perfect conformity of all his desires to the divine will, and of the love whereby he keeps himself united *with God, who was in him, re-*

2 Cor. v. 19.

conciling the world unto himself? In this incomprehensible union he includes all mankind, he makes heaven at peace with the earth, he plunges with an immense ardour into that ocean of blood, wherein he *was to be baptized* with all his followers, and darts forth from his wounds *the fire* of divine love, *which was to kindle the whole earth.* But behold what passeth all understanding! the righteousness fulfilled by this God-man, who suffereth himself to be condemned by the world, that so the world may stand eternally condemned by the enormous iniquity of that judgment. 'Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out,' as Jesus Christ himself pronounces. Hell, which had subdued the world, is now going to destroy him: by attacking the innocent it shall be obliged to release the guilty, whom it held captive: the woful hand writing, whereby we were delivered over to rebel angels *is taken out of the way: Jesus Christ hath nailed it to his cross,* to be there *blotted out* by his blood: hell spoiled of its prey, groaneth: the cross is a place of triumph to our Saviour, and the hostile powers trembling attend the victor's car. But a greater triumph presents itself to our eyes: divine justice is itself overcome; the sinner, its due victim, is snatched out of its hands. He hath found a surety able to pay an infinite price for him. Jesus Christ unites eternally to himself the elect, for whom he gives himself; they are his members, and his body: the eternal Father can no more look upon them but in their head: and thus he extends towards them the infinite love wherewith he loves his Son. 'Tis his Son himself, who requests it of him: he cannot be separated from the men he hath redeemed: 'Father,' saith he, 'I will that they also be with me;' they shall be filled with my spirit; they shall enjoy my glory: they shall be partakers with me of my very throne.

Luke xii. 49, 50.

John xii. 31.

Col. ii. 13. 14. 15.

John xvii. 24, 25, 26. Rev. iii. 21.

After so inestimable a benefit, nothing but acclamations of joy can express our gratitude. 'O miracle!'

cries a great philosopher and martyr, 'O incomprehensible exchange! and amazing contrivance of divine wisdom!' one only is smitten, and all are delivered. God smites his innocent Son for the sake of guilty men, and pardons guilty men for his innocent Son's sake. "*The Just payeth that he doth not owe, and acquitteth sinners of that they do owe; for what could better cover our sins than his righteousness? How could the rebellion of servants be better expiated, than by the obedience of the Son? The iniquity of many is done away in one righteous person, and the righteousness of one alone causeth many to be justified.*" To what then are we not to pretend? 'He who loved us, while we were yet sinners, so as even to lay down his life for us, what will he refuse us now that he hath reconciled and justified us by his blood.' Every thing is ours through Jesus Christ: holiness, life, glory, blessing: the kingdom of the Son of God is our inheritance; there is nothing above our reach, provided only we do not debase ourselves.

Just. Epist. ad Diog.

Rom. v. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

While Jesus Christ crowns our desires, and exceeds our hopes, he finishes the work of God begun under the patriarchs, and in the law of Moses.

Then God was pleased to make himself known by sensible experiences: he showed himself magnificent, in temporal promises; gracious, in loading his children with such good things, as are pleasing to the senses; powerful, in delivering them from the hands of their enemies; faithful, in bringing them into the land promised to their fathers; just, by the rewards and punishments, which he sent them manifestly according to their works.

All these wonders paved the way for the truths, which Jesus Christ was coming to teach. If God is so gracious, as even to give us what our senses require, how much rather shall he give us what is requisite for our mind made after his own image? If he is so tender and bountiful towards his children, shall he confine his love and bounty to the few years that consti-

tute the term of our life? Shall he give to those he loves, only a shadow of felicity, only a land fruitful in corn and oil? Shall there not be a country, where he will abundantly dispense real blessings?

There shall doubtless; and Jesus Christ cometh to show it us. For indeed the Almighty would have performed works but little worthy of him, did all his magnificence terminate only in the grandeur exposed to our weak senses. Whatever is not eternal, is correspondent neither to the majesty of an eternal God, nor to the hopes of man, to whom he has made known his eternity; and that unalterable faithfulness he keeps to his servants, shall never have an adequate object, until it be extended towards something immortal and permanent. It was necessary therefore, that at last Jesus Christ should open to us the heavens, in order to discover to the eyes of our faith, *that continuing city*, where we are to be gathered after this life. He shows us, that if God takes for his eternal title, the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, it is because those holy men are ever living before him. *God is not the God of the dead:* it is not worthy of him to act as men do, only to accompany his friends to the grave, without leaving them any hope beyond it; and it were a reproach upon him to call himself, with so much emphasis, the God of Abraham, had he not founded in heaven an eternal city, where Abraham, and his children might live happy.

Heb. xi. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Matt. xxii. 12. Luke xx. 38.

Thus it is, that the truths of the future life are unfolded by Jesus Christ. He shows us them even in the law. The true promised land is the heavenly kingdom. It was after that blessed country that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob panted: Palestine did not deserve to bound all their wishes, nor to be the sole object of the so long expectation of our fathers.

Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16.

The Egypt, whence we must come out, the wilderness, through which we must pass, the Babylon, whose prisons we must break, to enter, or return to, our native country is the world, with its pleasures and vanities;

it is there we are truly captive, and wandering, seduced by sin and its lusts; we must shake off this yoke in order to find in Jerusalem, and in the city of our God, true liberty, and a sanctuary *not made with hands*, where the glory of the God of Israel may appear to us.

2 Cor. v. 1.

By this doctrine of Jesus Christ the secret of God is discovered to us: the law is all spiritual, its promises introduce us to that of the Gospel, and serve as a foundation to it. One and the same light appears through the whole: it arises under the patriarchs; under Moses and the prophets it increases: Jesus Christ, greater than the patriarchs, of more authority than Moses, more enlightened than all the prophets, displays it to us in its fulness.

For that Christ, for that Man-God, for that man, who holds upon earth, as St. Augustine speaks, the place of truth, and exhibits it personally dwelling amongst us; for him, I say, was reserved to show us all truth, that is, the truth of the mysteries, of the virtues, and of the rewards, which God hath prepared for those he loveth.

It was such greatness that the Jews were to look for in their Messiah. There is nothing so great, as to bear about in one's self and to discover to men the whole truth, which nourishes them, directs them, and purifies their eyes, so as to render them capable of seeing God.

When the truth was to be shown to men with that fulness, it was also appointed to be proclaimed throughout the whole earth, and to the end of time. God gave Moses only one people, and one determinate time: all ages, and all nations are given to Jesus Christ: he has his elect over all, and his church extended as the universe, shall never cease to bring them forth 'Go ye therefore,' saith he, 'and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you:

Matth. xxviii. 19, 20.

and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

VII. The descent of the Holy Ghost: the establishment of the church: the Judgments of God upon the Jews and Gentiles.

In order to propagate in all places, and in all ages, such exalted truths, and to enforce, in the midst of corruption, so refined a practice, there required a more than human virtue. For which reason Jesus Christ promises to send the Holy Spirit to strengthen his apostles, and eternally to animate the body of the church.

The power of the Holy Spirit, to declare itself the more, was to appear in weakness. *And behold, I send,* saith Jesus Christ to his apostles, *the promise of my Father,* that is, the Holy Ghost, *upon you:* in the meantime *tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem;* undertake nothing, *until ye be endued with power from on high.* Luke xxiv. 49.

In conformity to this order they continue shut up forty days: the Holy Ghost descends at the time appointed; fiery tongues lighting upon Christ's disciples speak the efficacy of their word; preaching begins; the apostles bear witness to Jesus Christ; they are ready to suffer every thing for the testimony that they have seen him risen again. Miracles attend their words; at two sermons of St. Peter eight thousand Jews are converted, and bewailing their error, are washed in the blood they had shed.

Thus the church is founded in Jerusalem, and among the Jews, notwithstanding the incredulity of the bulk of the nation. The disciples of Jesus Christ exhibit to the world a charity, a power, and a meekness which no society had ever before been blessed with: persecution arises; faith increases; the children of God learn more and more to desire nothing but heaven; the Jews, by their obstinate wickedness, draw upon themselves the vengeance of God, and hasten the dreadful calamities, with which they were threatened: their state and affairs decline. While God continues to set apart a great number of them, whom he ranks among his elect, St. Peter is sent to baptize Cornelius the Roman centurion. He learns first by a hea-

venly vision, and afterwards by experience, that the Gentiles are called to the knowledge of God. Jesus Christ, who resolved their conversation, speaks from on high to St. *Paul*, who was to be their teacher; and by a miracle till then unheard of, from a persecutor he makes him not only a defender, but a zealous preacher of the faith: he discovers to him the profound secret of the calling of the Gentiles through the reprobation of the ungrateful Jews, who render themselves more and more unworthy of the Gospel. St. *Paul* stretches forth his hands to the Gentiles; he treats with a wonderful power these important points: "That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles:" he proves the affirmative by Moses and the prophets, and calls idolaters to the knowledge of God, in the name of Jesus Christ risen from the dead. They are converted in multitudes. St. Paul shows that their call is an effect of grace, which no longer makes any distinction between Jew and Gentile: fury and jealousy transport the Jews; they form terrible combinations against St. Paul, enraged chiefly at his preaching to the Gentiles, and bringing them to the true God: they deliver him up at last to the Romans, as they had done Jesus Christ. The whole empire was moved against the infant church; and Nero, the persecutor of all mankind, was the first persecutor of the faithful. That tyrant causes St. Peter and St. Paul to be put to death. Rome is consecrated by their blood; and the martyrdom of St. Peter, chief of the apostles, establishes in the capital of the empire, the principal seat of religion. Meanwhile the time approached, when the divine vengeance was to break forth upon the impenitent Jews; disorder takes place among them; a false zeal blinds them, and renders them odious to all men; their false prophets bewitched them with promises of an imaginary kingdom: seduced by their impostures, they can no longer bear any lawful empire, and set no bounds

Acts xxvi. 23.

to their audacious attempts. God gives them up to a reprobate sense. They revolt against the Romans, and are overthrown by them; Titus himself, who destroys them, is sensible that he does but lend his hand 'to God provoked against them.' Adrian completes their extirpation. They perish with all the marks of divine vengeance; driven out of their land, and slaves all over the world; they have no longer either temple, altar, sacrifice, or country: nor is there any form of a people to be seen in Judah.

Philos. Vit. Ap. Tyan. lib. vi. Jos. de bell. Jud. lib. vii. 18.

God however had taken care to provide for the eternity of his worship: the Gentiles open their eyes, and are united in spirit to the converted Jews. They enter by this means into the stock of Abraham, and having become his children by faith, they inherit of the promises that had been made him. A new people is formed, and the new sacrifices so much celebrated by the prophets, begin to be offered over the whole earth.

Thus was punctually fulfilled the ancient oracle of Jacob: Judah is multiplied from the beginning more than all his brethren; and, having ever preserved a certain pre-eminence, receives at last the kingdom hereditary. In process of time, the people of God is reduced to his single family, and being confined to his tribe, takes his name. In Judah is continued that great nation promised to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; in him are perpetuated the other promises, the worship of God, the temple, the sacrifices, the possession of the promised land, which is no longer called any thing but Judea. Notwithstanding their different states, the Jews remain still in a regular body of a people, and kingdom, subject to their own laws. We see still raised up among them, either kings or magistrates and judges, until the Messiah comes: He comes, and the kingdom of Judah by degrees falls into ruin. It is utterly destroyed, and the Jewish people is driven without hope out of the land of their fathers.

The Messiah becomes the expectation of nations, and reigns over a new people.

But in order to preserve the succession and perpetuity, this new people must be grafted, so to speak, upon the former, and as St. Paul says, 'the wild olive tree into the good olive tree, in order to partake of its root and fatness.' And so it happened, that the church, established first among the Jews, received at length the Gentiles, in order to make with them one tree, one body, one people, and to render them partakers of her grace and promises.

Rom. xi. 17.

What afterwards befals the unbelieving Jews under Vespasian and Titus, no longer relates to the progression of the people of God. It is only a chastising of rebels, who by their infidelity towards the Seed promised to Abraham and David, are no longer Jews, nor sons of Abraham, but after the flesh, and renounce the promise, whereby all nations were to be blessed.

Thus the last and dreadful desolation of the Jews is no more a transportation like that of Babylon; it is not a suspension of the government and state of God's people, or of the solemn service of religion: the new people, already formed and continued with the old in Christ Jesus, is not carried away; they extend, and spread themselves abroad without interruption, from Jerusalem, where they were to have their rise, to the uttermost parts of the earth. The Gentiles incorporated with the Jews, become henceforth the true Jews, and the true kingdom of Judah, as opposed to that schismatic Israel, cut off from the people of God, the true kingdom of David, by the obedience they pay to the laws and gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of David.

After the establishment of this new kingdom, no wonder if every thing goes to wreck in Judea. The second temple was of no more use, after the Messiah had accomplished in it what was marked out by the prophecies. That temple had had its promised glory, when the desire of nations was come into it. The visible Jerusalem had done what remained for her to do, since the church had taken there its rise, and from

thence was daily extending its branches all over the earth. Judea is now nothing peculiar to God, or religion, any more than the Jews; and it is but just that in punishment of their hardness of heart, their ruins be dispersed over the whole world. And this was to be their fate at the time of the Messiah, according to Jacob, Daniel, Zechariah, and all their prophets: but as they are one day to return to that Messiah, whom they have disowned, and as the God of Abraham hath not yet exhausted his mercies towards the race, though faithless of that patriarch, he hath found means, whereof there is not in the world another instance to preserve the Jews out of their country, and in their desolation, even longer than the nations that have conquered them. There are no more to be seen any remains either of the ancient Assyrians, ancient Medes, ancient Persians, ancient Greeks, or even of the ancient Romans. Every trace of them is lost, and they are blended with other nations. The Jews, who have been the prey of those ancient nations, so celebrated in history, have survived them all; and God by preserving them keeps us in expectation of what he will yet do for the unhappy remnant of a people once so highly favoured. However, their obstinacy conduces to the salvation of the Gentiles, and affords them the advantage of finding, in unsuspected hands, the scriptures, which have foretold Jesus Christ and his mysteries. We see among other things in these scriptures, both the blindness, and misfortunes of the Jews, who so carefully preserve them. Thus are we gainers by their overthrow; their infidelity is one of the foundations of our faith; they teach us to fear God, and are an eternal example of the judgments he executes upon his ungrateful children, that we may learn never to glory in the favours shown to our fathers.

Hosea iii. 4, 5. Is. lix. 20, 21. Rom. xi. 1 &c. Is. lii. 2, 3. Dan. xi. 25. Matt. xxiii. John xii. Acts xxviii. Rom. xi.

A mystery so wonderful, and so useful for the instruction of mankind, deserves to be well considered. But we have no need of human discourses in order to understand it: the Holy Ghost has taken care to

explain it to us by the mouth of St. Paul; and I beseech you to attend to what that apostle has written to the Romans upon that subject.

Rom. xi. 1, 2. &c.

After having spoke of the small number of Jews, who had received the Gospel, and of the blindness of the rest, he enters into a deep consideration of what was to become of a people honoured with so many favours, and discovers to us at the same time the benefit we reap from their fall, and the fruits which their conversion shall one day produce. 'Have the Jews stumbled,' says he, 'that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come to the Gentiles, for to provoke them to an emulation,' that should make them look back into themselves. 'Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles,' who have been converted in so great numbers 'how much more their fulness? For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For if the first fruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy so are the branches. And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou,' a Gentile, being a wild olive tree, were grafted in amongst them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree, boast not against the branches: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.'

Rom. xi. 11. &c.

Who would not tremble at hearing these words of the apostle? Can we possibly not be alarmed at the vengeance, which has fallen so many ages so terribly upon the Jews, since St. Paul warns us from God, that our ingratitude will bring like treatment on us? But let us hear the sequel of this great mystery. The

apostle continues to speak to the converted Gentiles. 'Behold therefore,' says he, 'the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they bide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God,' who cut them off, 'is able to graft them in again. For if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree; how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive-tree?' Here the apostle rises above all he has been saying, and entering into the depths of the counsels of God, he thus pursues his discourse. 'For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits) that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. For this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins.' Rom. xi. 22, & foll. Is. lix. 20.

This passage of Isaiah, which St. Paul cites here according to the Septuagint, as was his custom, because that version was known over all the earth, is yet stronger in the original, and taken in its full extent. For the prophet there foretels, first of all, the conversion of the Gentiles, by these words: "They shall fear the name of the Lord from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun." Then under the figure of a flood, Isaiah sees afar off the persecutions that shall promote the growth of the church. Lastly, the Holy Spirit informs him what shall become of the Jews, and declares to him, that 'the Redeemer shall come out of Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob. As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: my Spirit that is upon thee,' O prophet, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of Is. lix. 19. Is. l. 1; 20, 21;

the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth, and for ever.'

He shows us therefore clearly, that after the conversion of the Gentiles, the Redeemer, whom Zion had refused to know, and whom the children of Jacob had rejected, shall turn towards them, shall blot out their transgressions, and restore to them the understanding of the prophecies, which they had so long lost that it may be handed down successively to all after generations, and be no more forgot.

Thus the Jews shall return one day, and they shall return, never more to go astray: but they shall not return till after both 'the east and the west,' that is the whole world, shall have been filled with the fear and knowledge of God.

The Holy Spirit discovers to St. Paul, that that happy return of the Jews shall be the effect of the love wherewith God loved their fathers. Wherefore he finishes thus his reasoning: 'As concerning the Gospel,' says he, which we now preach to you, 'the Jews are enemies for your sake: if God hath cast them out, it was, O Gentiles, in order to call you: but as touching the election, whereby they were chosen from the time of the covenant sworn to Abraham, 'they are beloved for the father's sake. For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.' For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief,' God having been pleased to choose you in their stead: 'even so have the Jews also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy. For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all,' and that all might know the need they have of his grace. 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath given

Rom. xi. 28.

to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.'

This is what St. Paul saith concerning the election of the Jews, their fall, and return, and the at length conversion of the Gentiles, who are called to fill their room, and to bring them back at the end of time to the blessing promised to their fathers, that is, to the Christ, whom they have denied. That great apostle shows us grace passing from one people to another, to keep all nations in fear of losing it: and manifests to us its invincible power, in that after having converted the idolaters, it reserves as its last work, the conviction of the Jewish hardness of heart and perfidy.

By this profound counsel of God the Jews still subsist amongst the nations, where they are scattered and captive: but they subsist with the badge of their reprobation, being fallen visibly, through their infidelity, from the promises made to their fathers, banished the promised land, not even having any land to cultivate, slaves wherever they are, without honour, without liberty, without the least form of a people.

Into this state they fell eight and thirty years after they crucified Jesus Christ, and after spending in the persecution of his disciples the time that had been allowed them to repent. But while the ancient people are cast out for their unbelief, the new people are every day increasing among the Gentiles; the covenant formerly made with Abraham is extended according to the promise, to all the nations of the world, who had forgot God: the Christian church calls all men to her, and calm during many ages, amidst unheard of persecutions, she shows them, that they are by no means to expect their felicity upon earth.

This, Sir, was the worthiest fruit of the knowledge of God, and the effect of that great blessing, which the world was to expect in Jesus Christ. It continued daily to diffuse itself from family to family, and from people to people; men opened their eyes more and

more to a sight of the blindness, whereinto idolatry had plunged them; and spite of all the Roman power, the Christians, without revolt, without raising any disturbance, and only by suffering all manner of inhumanities, were seen to change the face of the world, and extend themselves all over the globe.

The surprising suddenness, with which this great change was brought about, is a visible miracle. Jesus Christ had foretold, that his Gospel should soon be preached throughout all the earth: that wonder was to happen immediately after his death; and he had said, John viii. 28. xii. 32. that *when he should be lifted up from the earth*, that is, when he should be nailed to the cross, *he would draw all men unto him*. His apostles had not yet finished their course, when St. Paul already told the Romans, Rom. i. 8 Col. i. 5, 6, 23. "That their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world." He said to the Colossians, that the Gospel was heard 'by every creature under heaven; that it was preached, that it brought forth fruit, that it was propagating in all the world.' An allowed tradition Greg. Nax. Orat. 25. informs us, that St. Thomas carried it to the Indies, and the rest into other distant countries. But we have no need of history to confirm this truth: the effect itself speaks, and we sufficiently see, with how great reason St. Paul applies to the apostles that passage of the psalmist, *Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.* Under their disciples, there was hardly any country so remote and so unknown, where the gospel had not penetrated. An Just. Ap. 2. & adv. Tryph. hundred years after Jesus Christ, St. Justin reckoned already among the faithful a great many savage nations, and even those vagabond people that wandered up and down in chariots, without having any fixed abode. It was by no means a vain exaggeration; but a certain and notorious fact, which he advanced in presence of the emperors, and in the face of all the world. St. Iren. l. 2. 23. Irenus comes a little after, and then we see the number of churches increase. Their unity was admirable; what was believed in the Gauls, in the Spains,

in Germany, was believed in Egypt, and in the east; and as "there was but one sun in the whole world, the same light of truth shone in the whole church, from one end of the earth to the other." Ibid.

If we advance but a little farther, we shall be astonished at the progress we see. In the middle of the third century, Tertullian and Origen show in the church whole nations, who, a little before, were not admitted within its pale. Those whom Origen excepted, who were the most remote of the known world, are admitted a little after by Arnobius. What could the world have seen, that it should surrender so readily to Jesus Christ? If it saw miracles, God had a visible hand in the work; and if it was possible that it had seen none, "would it not be a new miracle" greater and more incredible than those which men will not believe, "to have converted the world without a miracle," to have made so many of the ignorant enter into so high mysteries, to have inspired so many of the learned with an humble submission, "and to have persuaded unbelievers "of so many incredible things?" Tertul. adv. Jud. Apol. 37. Orig. T. 28. in Mat. Hom. 4. in Ezech. Arn. lib. ii. Aug. xxi. de Civ. 7. xxii. 5.

But the miracle of miracles, if I may so speak, is, that together with faith in the mysteries, the most eminent virtues, and most painful practices, spread themselves over all the earth. The disciples of Jesus Christ followed him in the most difficult paths. To endure all things for the truth was an usual exercise among his children; and in order to imitate their Saviour, they embraced pains with greater ardour than others did pleasures. 'Tis impossible to enumerate the instances of the rich, that made themselves poor to relieve the poor; of the poor that preferred poverty to riches; of the virgins, that imitated upon earth the life of angels; or of the charitable pastors, who made themselves all things to all men, ever ready to bestow upon their flocks not only their watchings and labours but their very lives. What shall I say of their penitence and mortification? Judges do not ex-

ercise justice more severely on a criminal, than did penitent sinners upon themselves. Nay more, the innocent punished in themselves with an incredible rigour, that strong propensity we have to sin. The life of St. John Baptist, which seemed so surprising to the Jews, became common among the faithful; the deserts were peopled with his imitators, and there came to be so many Anchorets, that the more perfect of them were obliged to seek more profound solitudes: so much did people fly the world, so much was relished the contemplative life.

Such were the precious fruits, which the Gospel was to bring forth. The church is no less rich in examples, than in precepts, and the holiness of her doctrine appeared by its producing an infinite number of saints. God knowing that the strongest virtues spring up amidst sufferings, founded her by martyrdom, and kept her three hundred years in that state, without allowing her a single moment's respite. After he had shown by so long experience, that he stood in no need of human help or of earthly powers, to establish his church, he called at length the emperors into her, and made the great Constantine a declared protector of Christianity. From that time kings came into the church from every quarter, and all that was written in the prophecies concerning her future glory, was accomplished before the eyes of the whole earth.

But if she hath been invincible against all efforts from without, she is no less so against intestine divisions. Those heresies so much foretold by Jesus Christ and his apostles came accordingly to pass, that the faith persecuted by the emperors, suffered at the same time from the heretics, a more dangerous persecution. But this last never was more violent than at the time when that of the heathens was observed to cease. Hell exerted then its utmost efforts to destroy that church by her own hand, which the attacks of her declared enemies had served but to confirm. Scarce had she begun to breathe a little through the peace

which Constantine afforded her, when behold Arius, that unhappy priest, stirs her up greater troubles than she had ever met with. Constantius, the son of Constantine, seduced by the Arians, whose doctrine he espouses, harasses the Catholics through the whole earth, turning a new persecutor of Christianity, and so much the more formidable, that under the name of Jesus Christ he made war upon Jesus Christ himself. To crown her misfortunes, the church thus divided falls into the hands of Julian the apostate, who set every engine at work to destroy Christianity, and finds no means more effectual than the fomenting of the factions with which it was torn. After him comes a Valens, as much attached to the Arians as Constantius, but more violent. Other emperors protect other heresies with a like fury. The church learns by so much experience, that she has no less to suffer under the christian, than she had suffered under infidel emperors; and that she must shed of her blood to defend not only the whole body of her doctrine, but even every particular article. And indeed there was not one that she did not see attacked by her own children. A thousand sects and heresies coming forth from her own bosom, set themselves up against her. But if she saw them all arise according to the predictions of Jesus Christ, she saw them also fall according to his promises, though oftentimes supported by emperors and by kings. Her true children were known, as St. Paul says, by this trial; the truth did but gain new strength whenever it was contested, and the church remained unshaken.

VIII. Particular Reflections on the Punishment of the Jews, and on the predic-

Whilst I have endeavoured to show you uninterruptedly the progression of the counsels of God, in the perpetual duration of his people, I have been obliged to hurry over abundance of facts which merit profound reflection. Allow me therefore here to resume them, that you may not lose things of so great consequence.

And in the first place, Sir, I must beg of you to con-

tions of Jesus Christ.

sider with a more particular attention the fall of the Jews, whereof every circumstance bears testimony to the Gospel. Those circumstances are explained to us by infidel authors, by Jews, and by heathens, who without perceiving the train of God's counsels, have related to us the important facts whereby he hath been pleased to declare it.

We have Josephus, a Jewish author, a most faithful historian, and very well acquainted with the affairs of his nation, whose antiquities he has illustrated by an admirable work. He has written the last war wherein it perished, having been an eyewitness of the whole, and having himself served his country in it with a considerable command.

The Jews furnish us also with other very ancient authors, whose testimonies you shall see. They have ancient commentaries upon the books of scripture, and among others the Chaldaic paraphrases, which they print with their bibles. They have their book which they name Talmud, that is, doctrine which they regard no less than the scripture itself. It is a collection of tracts and sentences of their doctors; and though the parts whereof that great work is composed be not all of equal antiquity, the latest authors quoted in it lived in the earliest ages of the church. There amidst an infinity of impertinent fables, which are observed to take their rise for the most part after the time of our Lord, we find some beautiful remains of the ancient traditions of the Jewish people, and proofs that might serve towards their conviction.

And first, it is certain from the confession of the Jews themselves, that the divine vengeance did never more terribly, nor more manifestly declare itself than in their last desolation.

It is an allowed tradition, attested in their Talmud, and confirmed by all their Rabbins, that forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, which comes pretty near to the time of the death of Jesus Christ, strange things were continually seen in the temple.

Daily did there appear new prodigies, insomuch that a famous Rabbin cried out one day: "O temple, temple! what is it that moves thee, and wherefore dost thou make thyself afraid?" R. Johanam Son of Zacai. Tr. de fest. expiat.

What is more noted than that dreadful noise which was heard by the priests in the sanctuary on the day of Pentecost, and that audible voice which issued forth from the innermost part of that sacred place, *Let us go hence, let us go hence!* The holy angels, guardians of the temple, loudly declared, that they were forsaking it, because God, who had there established his dwelling during so many ages, had now given it up to reprobation.

Josephus and Tacitus himself have both related this prodigy. It was perceived only by the priests: but here is another prodigy, which was visible to the eyes of all the people and never had any other people seen the like. "Four years before the war was declared, a countryman," says Josephus, "fell a crying, A voice is gone out from the east, a voice is gone out from the west, a voice is gone out from the four winds: a voice against Jerusalem and against the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and against brides, a voice against all the people." From that time he ceased neither night nor day, crying, *Wo, wo to Jerusalem!* He redoubled his cries on the feast days. No other word came there out of his mouth: those who pitied him, those who cursed him, those who gave him the necessaries of life, could none of them ever get aught from him but that terrible sentence, *Wo to Jerusalem!* He was siezed, examined, and condemed by the magistrates to be whipped: at every question and every lash, he answered, without ever once complaining, *Wo to Jerusalem!* Being dismissed as a madman, he ran up and down the whole country, incessantly repeating his sad prediction. Seven years did he continue to cry in this manner, without relaxation, yet without his voice being weakened. At the time of the last siege of Je- Joseph. lib. vii. de bell. Jud. c. xii. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 13. Lib. vii. de bell. Jud. c 12.

rusalem, he shut himself up in the city, patrolling indefatigably round the walls, and crying with all his might, *Wo to the temple! Wo to the city! Wo to all the people!* At last he added, *Wo to myself!* and at the same instant was carried off by a stone shot from an engine.

Would not one think, Sir, that the divine vengeance had in a manner rendered itself visible in this man, who subsisted only to pronounce its decrees; that it had filled him with its power, to make him equal the woes of the people by his cries; and that he was at last to perish by an effect of that vengeance he had so long denounced, in order to render it the more sensible and striking, when he should be not only the prophet and witness, but even the victim of it.

This prophet of the woes of Jerusalem, was called Jesus. It seemed as if the name of Jesus, a name of salvation and peace, was to prove a fatal omen to the Jews, who had despised it in the person of our Saviour; and as those ungrateful wretches had rejected a Jesus, who proclaimed to them grace, mercy, and life, God sent them another Jesus, who had nothing to proclaim to them but irremediable calamities, and the inevitable decree of their approaching ruin.

Let us penetrate a little farther into the judgments of God, under the guidance of his scriptures. Jerusalem and its temple were twice destroyed; once by Nebuchadnezzar, a second time by Titus. But in each of these times the justice of God declared itself by the same methods, though more plainly in the latter.

The better to understand this order of the counsels of God, let us lay down before all things this truth so often established in the sacred pages; that one of the most terrible effects of the divine vengeance is, when in punishment of our past sins, it gives us up to a reprobate sense, so that we prove deaf to all its wise admonitions, blind to the ways of salvation that are pointed out to us, ready to believe every thing that tends

to undo us, provided only it flatter us, fool-hardy enough to attempt any thing, without measuring our strength with that of the enemies we provoke.

Thus perished the first time Jerusalem and her princes, under the hands of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. Feeble, and always beat by that victorious prince, they had often experienced that they made but vain efforts against him, and had been obliged to swear fidelity to him. The prophet Jeremy declared to them on God's part, that God himself had delivered them up to that prince, and that there was no safety for them, but in submitting to the yoke. He spake to Zedekiah king of Judah, and to all his people, saying, "Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him and his people, and live. Why will ye die? wherefore should this city be laid waste?" They did not give credit to his word. Whilst Nebuchadnezzar kept them closely blocked up by the prodigious works, with which he had encompassed their city, they suffered themselves to be deluded by their false prophets, who buoyed up their minds with imaginary victories, and told them in the name of God, although God had not sent them, "I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the vessels of the Lord's house, with all the captives of Judah." The people, seduced by these promises, endured famine and the hardest extremities, and held out so long through their mad resolution, that there was no more mercy for them. The city was overthrown, the temple was burned down, all was destroyed.

2Chro. xxxvi. 13.

Jer. xxvi. 12, 17.

Jer. xxviii. 2, 3, 4.

2Kings xxv.

By these signs the Jews knew that the hand of God was upon them. But that the divine vengeance might be as manifest in the final destruction of Jerusalem, as it had been in the first, there appeared in both, the same seduction, the same temerity, and the same hardness of heart.

Although their rebellion had drawn the Roman arms upon them, and though they rashly shook off a

yoke under which the whole world had bended, Titus was very unwilling to destroy them: on the contrary, he caused several offers of pardon to be made them, not only in the beginning of the war, but even when they could no longer reasonably hope to escape his hands. He had already raised about Jerusalem a vast high wall, fortified with towers and redoubts, as strong as the city itself, when he sent to them Josephus their fellow-citizen, one of their captains, one of their priests, who had been taken in that war defending his country. What did he not say to move them? By how many forcible arguments did he invite them to return to their obedience? He showed them heaven and earth, conspired against them, their destruction inevitable in resistance, and at the same time their safety in the clemency of Titus. "Save, said he, the holy city, save yourselves, save that temple the wonder of the world, which the Romans reverence, and which Titus is loth to destroy." But how was it possible to save people so obstinately resolved to undo themselves? Seduced by their false prophets, they hearkened not to those wise and salutary overtures. They were reduced to the last extremity; the famine killed more than the war, and mothers eat their own children. Titus, touched with their calamities, took the Gods to witness, that he was not the cause of their destruction. During these miseries, they gave faith to the false predictions, which promised them the empire of the world. Nay more, when the city was taken, and already on fire in every quarter, those infatuated people still believed the false prophets, who assured them that the day of salvation was come, that so they might hold out to the last, and that there might be no more mercy for them. Accordingly every thing was massacred, the city was utterly demolished, and except some remains of towers, which Titus left for a monument to posterity, there remained not one stone upon another.

Joseph. vii. de bell. Jud. iv.

Joseph. ib. 11.

You see then, Sir, the same vengeance showed up-

on Jerusalem, that had before appeared under Zedekiah. Titus is no less sent by God than Nebuchadnezzar; the Jews perish in the same manner. We see in Jerusalem the same rebellion, the same famine, the same extremities, the same ways of safety open, the same seduction, the same hardness of heart, the same fatal fall; and that every circumstance might exactly tally, the second temple is burned under Titus in the same month, and the same day of the month, that the first had been under Nebuchadnezzar. Ibid. 9, 10.

There are however some very remarkable differences between the two overthrows of Jerusalem and the Jews, but all serve to show in the last a justice more severe and more declared. Nebuchadnezzar caused the temple to be set on fire: Titus left no method untried for its preservation, though his counsellors represented to him, that so long as it stood the Jews, who held their destiny inseparable from it, would never cease to be rebels. But the fatal day was come: it was the tenth of August, which had already seen the temple of Solomon burned to the ground. Notwithstanding the prohibitions of Titus before both Romans and Jews, and notwithstanding the natural inclination of the soldiers, which should have rather led them to plunder than consume so much riches, a soldier prompted, says Josephus by *a divine impulse*, causes his companions to hold them up to a window, till he sets fire to that august temple. Titus flies to the place, and commands them to haste and extinguish the spreading flame. It seizes the whole in an instant, and that stupendous structure is reduced to ashes. Ibid. Ibid.

But if the obduracy of the Jews under Zedekiah, was the most terrible effect and surest sign of the divine vengeance; what shall we say of the blindness that was flagrant in Titus's time?

In the first ruin of Jerusalem, the Jews were at least in good understanding amongst themselves; in the last, Jerusalem besieged by the Romans, was torn by three

Joseph lib. vi. vii. opposite factions. If the hatred they all bore the Romans went even to fury, they were no less cruelly exasperated against one another; the conflicts without cost the Jews less blood than those within. The next moment after sustaining assaults from the foreign enemy, the city recommenced their intestine war; violence and robbery reigned through the whole city. When it was perishing, when it was now but one great field covered with dead bodies, the heads of the factions disputed the command in it. Was not this an image of hell, where the damned hate one another no less than they hate the devils, their common enemies, and where every thing is full of pride, confusion, and rage?

Let us then confess, Sir, that the justice, which God executed upon the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, was but a shadow of that, whereof Titus was the minister. What city hath ever lost eleven hundred thousand men in seven months time, and that in one single siege? So many Jews fell in the last siege of Jerusalem. They had suffered nothing like it from the Chaldeans. Under them their captivity lasted but seventy years: these seventeen hundred years have they been slaves all over the world, nor do they yet find any mitigation of their slavery.

We need no longer wonder if Titus, when returned victorious from the taking of Jerusalem, would not receive the congratulatory compliments of the neighbouring nations, nor the crowns they sent him, in honour of his victory. So many memorable circumstances, the wrath of God so express, and his hand, which he yet saw before his eyes, kept him in a profound astonishment: and it was this made him say what you have heard, that he was not the conqueror, but only the weak instrument of the divine vengeance.

He knew not the whole secret of it; the hour was not yet come, when the emperors were to acknowledge Jesus Christ. This was the time of the humiliation and persecution of the church. Wherefore

Titus, enlightened enough to know that Judea perished by a manifest effect of the justice of God, knew not the crime which God had thought fit to punish so terribly. It was the most heinous of all crimes, a crime till then unheard of, namely, Deicide, which therefore gave occasion to a vengeance, whereof the world had seen no precedent.

But if we open our eyes a little, and consider the course of things, neither that crime of the Jews, nor its punishment, can remain hid from us.

Let us remember only what Jesus Christ, had foretold them. He had foretold the utter ruin of Jerusalem, and of the temple, 'There shall not be left,' saith he 'one stone upon another.' He hath foretold the manner, how that ungrateful city should be besieged, and the dreadful circumvallation that was to encompass it: he had foretold that terrible famine, which was to devour its inhabitants; nor had he forgot the false prophets, by whom they were to be seduced. He had warned the Jews, that the time of their calamity was at hand; He had given certain signs, which were to mark the precise hour of it. He had laid open to them the long series of crimes, which were to draw such punishments upon them: In a word, he had traced the whole history of the siege and desolation of Jerusalem. Matt. xxiv. 1, 2. Mark xiii. 1, 2. Luke xxi. 5, 6.

And please, Sir, to observe, that he made them all these predictions towards the time of his passion, that so they might the better know the cause of all their miseries. His passion drew nigh, when he said to them: 'Behold I send unto you prophets and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Matt. xxiii. 34. &c.

prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings; and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.'

Such is the history of the Jews! they persecuted their Messiah, both in his person, and in that of his followers: they stirred up the whole world against his disciples, and allowed them no rest in any city: they armed the Romans and Emperors against the infant church; they stoned St. Stephen, killed the two James's, whose sanctity rendered them venerable even among them, slew St. Peter and St. Paul with the sword, and by the hands of the Gentiles. They needs must perish. So much blood mingled with that of the prophets, whom they have massacred, cries to God for vengeance: *Their houses and their city shall be desolate:* Their desolation shall be no less than their wickedness; Jesus Christ forewarns them of it. The time is at hand: "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled;" and again, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be done;" that is, that the men then living were to be witnesses of them.

Matt. xxiv. 34. Mark xiii. 30.

But let us hear the series of our Saviour's predictions. As he made his entry into Jerusalem some days before his death, touched with the calamities it was to bring upon that wretched city, he wept over it: Ah! says he, unhappy city, "if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day,' that is yet allowed thee to repent, 'the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee: and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.'

Luke xix. 42. &c.

This was intimating clearly enough both the man-

ner of the siege, and the final effects of the vengeance. But Jesus must not go to execution without denouncing to Jerusalem, how dearly it should one day pay for the unworthy treatment it was giving him. As he went to Calvary, bearing his cross upon his shoulders, "there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus turning unto them, said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, fall on us; and to the hills, cover us. For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" If the innocent, if the just one suffer so rigorous a punishment, what are the guilty to expect? Luke xxiii. 27. &c.

Did ever Jeremiah more bitterly lament the destruction of the Jews? What stronger expressions could the Saviour make use of to paint to them their misery and despair, and that dreadful famine fatal to children, and fatal to mothers, who saw their breasts dried up, who had no longer any thing but tears to give their children, and who eat the fruit of their wombs?

Such are the predictions he made to all the people. Those he made in particular to his disciples deserve still greater attention. They are contained in that long and admirable discourse, wherein he joins together the destruction of Jerusalem and that of the world. This connexion is not without mystery, the design of which was this.

IX. Two memorable predictions of our Lord explained and their accomplishment evinced from history.

Jerusalem, the blessed city, which the Lord had chosen, so long as it continued in the covenant, and in the faith of the promises, was a type of the church and figure of heaven, where God manifests himself to his children. For this reason do we frequently see the prophets join in the progress of the same discourse,

what concerns Jerusalem, with what concerns the church and the celestial glory. This is one of the secrets of the prophecies, and one of the keys which open the meaning of them. But Jerusalem, reprobate and ungrateful towards its Saviour, was to be the image of hell. Its perfidious inhabitants were to represent the damned; and the terrible Judgment which Jesus Christ was to execute upon them, was a type of that, which he shall execute upon the whole world, when he shall come at the end of time in his glorious majesty to judge the quick and the dead. It is a custom in scripture, and one of the means it makes use of to imprint mysteries upon the mind, to interweave for our instruction the type with the truth. Thus our Lord hath interwoven the history of Jerusalem destroyed with that of the end of the world, as appears in the discourse we are speaking of.

Let us not however, imagine that these subjects are so blended, that we cannot discern what belongs to either. Jesus Christ hath distinguished them by certain characters, which I could easily specify, were it a thing in question. But 'tis sufficient for me to explain to you, what concerns the desolation of Jerusalem and the Jews.

Matt. xxiv. 1, 2. Mark xiii. 1, 2. Luke xxi. 5, 6. When the apostles (at the time of the passion too,) assembled round their master, were showing him the temple, and the buildings about it; when they were admiring its stones, its regularity, its beauty, its solidity; he saith unto them, 'see ye these great buildings! there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.' Astonished at the saying, they ask him the time when so terrible an event should be? He, who had no mind to have them surprised in Jerusalem, when it should be sacked, (for he was willing that there should be in the sacking of that city an image of the final separation of the good from the evil) began to relate to them all the calamities as they were to happen one after another.

Matt. xxiv. 6, 7. First, he shows them 'famines and pestilences,

and earthquakes in divers places; and history bears testimony, that these things had never been more frequent, nor more remarkable, than they were in those times. He adds, that there should be through the whole world "troubles, wars, and rumours of wars; that nation should rise against nation," and that all the earth should be in a ferment. Could he better represent to us the last years of Nero, when the whole Roman empire, that is, the whole world, so peaceful ever since the victory of Augustus, and under the power of the emperors began to totter; and when the Gauls, the Spaniards, all the kingdoms, whereof the empire was composed, arose in commotion at once; when four emperors set themselves up almost at the same time against Nero, and against one another; when the Pretorian Cohorts, the armies of Syria, Germany, and all the rest that were spread both over east and west, fell foul upon each other, and traversed under the conduct of their emperors, from one end of the world to the other, in order to decide their quarrels by bloody battles? These are great evils, saith the son of God; 'but the end shall not be yet.' The Jews shall suffer like the rest in that general commotion of the world; but there shall come upon them soon after more peculiar calamities, "and these shall be but the beginning of their sorrows."

Mark xiii. 7, 8. Luke xxi. 9, 10, 11.

Mat. xxiv. 6, 8. Mark xiii. 7, 8. Luke xxi. 9.

He adds, that his church, constantly afflicted from her first establishment, should find persecution kindled against her more violent than ever, during those times. You have seen that Nero, in his latter years, attempted the destruction of the Christians, and caused St. Peter and St. Paul to be put to death. This persecution, excited by the jealousy and violence of the Jews, hastened their destruction, but did not yet ascertain the precise time.

Mat. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9. Luke xxi. 12.

The coming of false Christs and false prophets seemed to be a nearer step towards utter ruin: for the usual fate of those, who refused to lend ear to the truth, is to be hurried on their destruction by deluding

prophets. Jesus Christ does not conceal from his apostles that this misfortune should befal the Jews.

Mat. xxiv. 11. 23. Mark xiii. 22. 23. Luke xxi. 8. 'Many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.' And again, "Beware of false Christs and of false prophets."

Let it not be said, that this was a thing easy to be guessed at by one who knew the humour of the nation: for on the contrary, I have showed you, that the Jews, scandalized at their seducers, who had so often caused their ruin, and especially in the time of Zedekiah, had so entirely lost conceit of them, that they would hearken to them no more. Upwards of five hundred years passed without any false prophet appearing in Jerusalem. But hell which inspires them, roused itself at the coming of Jesus Christ; and God, who checks deceiving spirits as he pleases, now gave them loose reins, in order to send at the same time that punishment to the Jews. and that trial to his faithful people. Never did there appear so many false prophets, as in the times that succeeded the death of our Lord; especially during the Jewish war, and under the reign of Nero, who commenced it. Jo-

Jos. Ant. xx. 6. Bell. Ju. 11, 22. sephus shows us an infinity of these impostors, who drew the people to the wilderness by vain enchantments and magic arts, promising them a speedy

Matth. xxiv. 26. and miraculous deliverance. 'Tis also for this reason that the desert was specified in the predictions of our Lord, as one of the places that should hide those false deliverers, whom you have seen draw the people in the end into utter ruin. You may believe that the name of Christ, without which there was no perfect deliverance for the Jews, was interwoven in those imaginary promises, and you will see in the sequel reason to be convinced of it.

Judea was not the only province exposed to those delusions. They were common in the whole empire. There is not any one time wherein history discovers to us a greater number of those impostors, who pretend to foretel things to come, and deceive the people

by their enchantments. A Simon Magus, an Elymas, an Appollonius Thyaneus, and an infinite number of other sorcerers mentioned both in sacred and profane history, arose during that age, in which hell seemed to exert its last efforts to support its tottering empire. And therefore it is, that Jesus Christ observes at this time, especially among the Jews, that prodigious number of false prophets. Whoever will narrowly consider what he says, will see, that they were to multiply both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, but chiefly about those times; and that it should be then that seduction, strengthened by false miracles and false doctrines, should be at once so subtle and so powerful, that "the very elect, if possible, should be deceived by it." Mat. xxiv. 24. Mark xiii. 22.

I do not say that at the end of the world there is not also to happen something of like nature, and even more dangerous; since we have but just seen, that the transactions in Jerusalem, are a manifest type of the latter times: but certain it is, that Jesus Christ hath given to us this seduction, as one of the sensible effects of the wrath of God upon the Jews, and as one of the signs of their destruction. The event has justified his prophecy: every thing is here attested by undeniable proofs. We read the prediction of their errors in the gospel: we see the accomplishment of it in their histories, and particularly in that of Josephus.

After Jesus Christ had foretold these things; pursuant to the design he had to deliver his followers from the calamities wherewith Jerusalem was threatened, he comes to the nearer signs of the utter desolation of that city.

God vouchsafes not always to his elect such tokens. In those terrible punishments which make his power to be felt by whole nations, he often smites the righteous with the guilty; for he has better ways of distinguishing them, than those that are obvious to our senses. The same strokes that bruise the chaff separate the good grain; gold is refined in the same fire where-

in the chaff is consumed; and under the same chastisements, whereby the wicked are exterminated, the faithful receive new degrees of purity. But in the desolation of Jerusalem, that the image of the last judgment might be the more express, and the divine vengeance more remarkable upon the unbelievers, he would not that the Jews, who had received the gospel, should be confounded with the rest; and Jesus Christ gave his disciples certain signs whereby they might know, when it should be time to get out of that reprobate city. He founded his instructions, according to his custom, upon the ancient prophecies, whereof he was the interpreter, as well as the end; and reflecting on the passage, wherein the final ruin of Jerusalem was so clearly shown to Daniel, he said, 'When ye shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand') or as Mark hath it, 'in the place where it ought not; then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains.' St. Luke relates the same thing in other words: 'When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them, which are in Judea, flee to the mountains.'

Mat. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Dan. ix. 26, 27. Luke xxi. 20, 21.

One Evangelist explains another, and by comparing these passages together, it is easy to understand, that that abomination foretold by Daniel, is the same thing with the armies encompassing Jerusalem. The holy fathers have so understood it, and reason convinces us that it is so. The word abomination in sacred style, signifies idol: and who does not know that the Roman armies bore in their ensigns the images of their gods, and of their Cesars, who were more reverenced than all their gods together. These ensigns were to the soldiers an object of worship; and because idols, according to the commands of God, were never to appear in the Holy Land, the Roman ensigns were banished from it. And therefore we find in history, that so long as the Romans retained any degree of re-

Orig. Tr. 28, in Mat. Au. Ep. 80. ad Hesyop.

gard for the Jews, they never displayed their banners in Judea. It was on this account, that Vitellius, when he passed into that province in order to carry the war into Arabia, caused his troops to march without ensigns; the Jewish religion was still had in reverence, and even the enemies of the Jews would by no means force that people to suffer things so contrary to their law. But in the time of the last Jewish war, we may well believe that the Romans did not spare a people whom they were resolved to extirpate. Accordingly, when Jerusalem was besieged, it was encompassed with as many idols as there were imperial ensigns; and the abomination never appeared so much *where it ought not*, that is, in the Holy land, and round about the temple. Jos. An. xviii. c. 7.

Is this then, will it be said, that great sign which Jesus Christ was to give? Was it time to fly, when Titus besieged Jerusalem, and so closely blocked up its avenues, that there was no more any possibility of escaping? Here lies the wonder of the prophecy. Jerusalem was twice besieged in those days: the first time by Cestius, governor of Syria, in the 68th year of our Lord; the second by Titus, four years after, that is, in the year 72. In the last siege there was no possibility of fleeing; Titus waged the war too hotly for that: he surprised the whole nation assembled in Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, without suffering a soul to escape; and that dreadful circumvallation which he drew round the city, left no more any hope to its inhabitants. But there was nothing like this in the siege of Cestius; he lay encamped 50 furlongs, that is, six miles from Jerusalem. His army was spread all around, but without making any intrenchments; and he conducted the war so negligently, that he missed the opportunity of taking the city, when terror, sedition, and even intelligence opened the gates to him. At this juncture, so far was a retreat from being impracticable, that history expressly notes, that many Jews did retire. It was then therefore they should Joseph. li. de Bell. Jud. c. 23, 24. Id. lib. vi. vii. Joseph. lib. ii. c. 23, 24. Joseph. ib.

have gone out; and this was the signal the Son of God gave to his followers. So likewise did he most plainly distinguish the two sieges: the one, wherein Luke xix. 43. *the city should be encompassed round with trenches and towers;* then there should be nothing but death for Luke xxi. 20, 21. all who were shut up in it: the other, wherein it should be only *compassed with armies*, and rather invested than besieged in form; then was it *they were to flee to the mountains.*

Euseb. iii. Hist. Eccl. & Epip. Hær. vii. Nazar. & lib. de pond. and mens. The Christians obeyed their Master's voice. Though there were thousands in Jerusalem and Judea, we read neither in Josephus, nor in any of the other histories, that there was one found in the city, when it was taken. On the contrary, it is certain, from ecclesiastical history, and all the monuments of our forefathers, that they retreated to the little city Pella, in a mountainous country, not far from the wilderness on the confines of Judea and Arabia.

From this we may be sensible, how precisely they had been warned; nor is there any thing more remarkable than that separation of the unbelieving Jews from the Jews converted to Christianity: the former having stayed in Jerusalem, there to undergo the punishment of their infidelity; and the latter having retreated, as did Lot out of Sodom into a little city, where they beheld with trembling the effects of the divine vengeance, from which God had been pleased to secure them.

Besides the predictions of Jesus Christ, there were predictions of many of his disciples: among others, those of St. Peter and St. Paul. As those two faithful witnesses for Jesus Christ risen, were dragged to execution, they denounced to the Jews, who were delivering them to the Gentiles, their approaching ruin. Lact. div. Inst. lib. iv. c. 21. They told them, "That Jerusalem was going to be utterly destroyed; that they should perish by hunger and despair; that they should be for ever banished from the land of their fathers, and sent into captivity throughout the whole earth: that the time was not

far off when all those evils should befal them, for having insulted with such cruel mockings, the well beloved Son of God, who had declared himself to them by so many miracles." Pious antiquity hath preserved to us this prediction of the apostles, which was to be followed with so speedy an accomplishment. St. Peter had made many others, whether by a particular inspiration, or in explaining his Master's words; and Phlegon, a heathen author, whose testimony Origen produces, had recorded, that every thing that apostle had foretold, was punctually accomplished. Phleg. lib. 13. & 14. Chro. apud Orig. lib. 2. cont. Celf.

Thus nothing befals the Jews, that hath not been prophesied to them. The cause of their misery is clearly pointed out to us in the mock they made of Jesus Christ and his disciples. The time of grace was past, and their destruction was inevitable.

In vain then, Sir, did Titus desire to save Jerusalem and the temple. Their sentence was gone forth from above: there was not one stone to be left upon another. But if one Roman emperor vainly attempted to prevent the demolition of the temple, still more vainly did another Roman emperor attempt to rebuild it. Julian the apostate, having declared war against Jesus Christ, thought himself able to bring to nought his predictions. In the design he had to stir up on all sides enemies to the Christians, he stooped so low as to court the Jews, who were the off-scourings of the earth. He excited them to rebuild their temple; he gave them immense sums, and strengthened their hands with the whole power of the empire. But mark the event, and see how God confounded haughty princes. The holy fathers, and ecclesiastical historians relate it with one accord, and justify their relation by the monuments that were still remaining in their time. But it was fit the thing should be attested by the heathens themselves. Ammianus Marcellinus, a Gentile by religion, and a zealous defender of Julian, hath narrated it in these terms: "Whilst Alipius, assisted by the governor of the province, forwarded the work Amm. Marcel. lib. xxiii. alt.

with all his might, terrible globes of fire issued from the foundations, which they had first rent by violent shocks; and the workmen, who often attempted to begin the work anew, were at different times burned alive: the place became inaccessible, and the enterprise fell to the ground."

Ecclesiastical writers, more exact in representing so memorable an event, add fire from heaven to the fire of the earth. But in short, the word of Jesus Christ stood fast. St. John Chrysostom cries out, "He built his church upon a rock, nothing hath been able to overthrow it: He overthrew the temple, nothing hath been able to rebuild it, none can pull down what God raiseth up; none can raise up, what God pulleth down."

Orat. in Judæos.

Let us talk no more of Jerusalem, nor of the temple; but let us cast our eyes on the people themselves, formerly the living temple of the God of hosts, and now the object of his hatred. The Jews are more demolished than their temple, or city. The spirit of truth is no longer among them: prophecy is extinguished in them: the promises, on which they built their hopes, are vanished away: every thing is overthrown in this people; and *there is not left one stone upon another.*

And observe to what pitch of error they are delivered up. Jesus Christ had said to them: *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* From that time, the spirit of seduction has reigned so powerfully among them, that they are still ready every moment to be carried away by it. It was not enough that the false prophets had betrayed Jerusalem into the hands of Titus; the Jews were not yet banished Judea, and the attachment they had to Jerusalem had induced many of them to choose their abode among its ruins; when behold a false Christ, who comes to complete their destruction. Fifty years after Jerusalem was taken, in the century of the death of our Lord,

John v. 43.

the infamous Barchochebas, a robber, a miscreant because his name signified the son of a star, called himself the star of Jacob foretold in the book of Numbers, and gave himself out for the Christ. Akibas, a man of the greatest authority of all the rabbins, and after his example, all those, whom the Jews called their wise men, entered into his party, without the impostor's giving them any other token of his mission, than that Akibas said the Christ could not now be far off. The Jews revolted, through the whole Roman empire, under the conduct of Barchochebus, who promised them the empire of the world. Hadrian killed six hundred thousand of them: the yoke of these unhappy wretches grew heavier, and they were banished Judea for ever.

Num. xxiv. 17. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 6, 2. Talm. Hier. de jejun. & in vet Com. sup. Lam. Jerem. Maimonid. ib. de jure reg. c. 12.

Who does not see that the spirit of seduction had got possession of their hearts? *They received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God sent them strong delusion, that they should believe in a lie.* There is no imposture so gross, but it seduces them. In our days, an impostor called himself the Christ in the east: all the Jews began to flock about him: we have seen them in Italy, in Holland, in Germany, and at Metz, preparing to sell and leave all to follow him. They were now big with the thoughts of being presently masters of the world, when lo! they understood that their Christ had turned Turk, and forsaken the law of Moses.

2 Thes. ii. 10, 11.

We need not be astonished, that they have fallen into such strayings, nor that the storm scattered them, when they quitted their course. That course was marked out to them in their prophecies, particularly in those, which specified the time of the Christ. They let slip those precious moments without improving them: wherefore we see them afterward given up to delusion, and they no longer know which way to steer.

X. The series of

Allow me yet a moment to recount to you the series of their errors, and all the steps they have taken

the Jews' errors, and the way they explain the prophecies.

to sink themselves into the abyss. The paths wherein people go astray join always to the high road; and by considering where the straying began, people walk more securely in the right way.

We have seen, Sir, that two prophecies pointed out the time of Christ to the Jews; that of Jacob, and that of Daniel. They both fixed the downfall of the kingdom of Judah at the time the Christ should come. But Daniel showed that the total destruction of that kingdom was to be the consequence of the death of Christ: and Jacob told plainly, that, in the decline of the kingdom of Judah, the Christ, who should then come, should be *the expectation of the people;* that is, that he should be made their deliverer, and that he should make to himself a new kingdom, not of one nation only, but of all nations of the world. The words of the prophecy can have no other meaning, and it was the allowed tradition of the Jews, that they were thus to be understood.

Gem. Sanhed. c. ii.

Hence that opinion, which prevailed among the ancient Rabbins, and which is still to be seen in their Talmud, that at the time the Christ should come, there should be no more magistracy: so that there was nothing of greater importance towards ascertaining the time of their Messiah, than to observe, when they should fall into that unhappy state.

Indeed, they had begun well; and had they not had their minds possessed with the worldly grandeur which they wanted to find in the Messiah, in order to share it under his empire, they could not possibly have mistaken Jesus Christ. The foundation, they had laid, was certain: for so soon as the tyranny of the first Herod, and the alteration of the Jewish commonwealth, which happened in his time, had pointed out to them the moment of the decay marked in the prophecy, they made no doubt but the Christ was coming, and that they should see that new kingdom wherein all nations were to be united.

One thing they observed was, that the power of

life and death was taken from them. This was a great change; as that privilege had ever been preserved to them until then, to whatever dominion they were subject; and even in Babylon during their captivity. The history of Susanna makes it sufficiently evident, and it was a constant tradition amongst them. The kings of Persia, who restored them, allowed them that power by an express decree, of which we have taken notice in its place: and we have also seen, that the first Seleucidæ had rather augmented than restrained their privileges. I need not here speak again of the reign of the Maccabees, wherein they were not only made free, but powerful and formidable to their enemies. Pompey, who weakened them in the manner we beheld, contented with the tribute he imposed upon them, and with putting them in a state of being at the Roman people's disposal, left them their prince with full jurisdiction. 'Tis well known, that the Romans dealt thus by them, and never meddled with the civil government of the countries, to which they left their natural sovereigns.

Talm. Hieros. sol. Tr. Sanhed.

Ez. vii. 25, 26.

In short, the Jews are agreed that they lost that power of life and death, only forty years before the desolation of the second temple: and it cannot be doubted, but it was the first Herod who began to give this wound to their liberty. For since, in order to revenge himself on the Sanhedrim, where he had been obliged personally to appear before he was king; and afterwards, in order to engross the authority, he had attacked that assembly, which was, in a manner, the senate founded by Moses, and the perpetual council of the nation, wherein the supreme jurisdiction was exercised; by degrees that great body lost its power, and had very little of it remaining, when Jesus Christ came into the world. Things grew worse and worse under Herod's children, when the kingdom of Archelaus, whereof Jerusalem was the capital, being reduced into a Roman province, was governed by prefects, who the emperors sent thither. In this unhappy

Joseph. Ant. xiv. 17.

state, the Jews so little claimed the power of life and death, that in order to put to death Jesus Christ, whom they wanted at any rate to destroy, they were fain to have recourse to Pilate: and that weak governor having told them, that they might judge him themselves, they answered with one voice, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* And so it was by the hands of Herod, that they slew St. James the brother of St. John, and put St. Peter in prison. When they had resolved the death of St. Paul, they delivered him into the hands of the Romans, as they had done Jesus Christ; and the sacrilegious vow of their enthusiastical bigots, who swore neither to eat nor drink until they had killed that holy apostle, sufficiently evinces, that they thought themselves deprived of the power of putting him to death judicially. But if they stoned St. Stephen it was tumultuously, and through an effect of those seditious transports, which the Romans had not always power to restrain, in those, who then styled themselves the Zealots. It is therefore to be held certain, as well from those histories, as from the consent of the Jews, and the state of their affairs, that towards the times of our Lord, and especially in those, wherein he began to exercise his ministry, they entirely lost all temporal authority. They could not behold that loss, without calling to mind the ancient oracle of Jacob, which foretold them that against the time of the Messiah, there should be no more among them either power, authority, or magistracy. One of their most ancient authors remarks it, and he is in the right to own, that the sceptre was no more in Judah, nor the authority in the prince of the people, since the public power was taken from them, and the Sanhedrim being degraded, the members of that venerable body were no longer considered as Judges, but only as private doctors. Thus, according to their own account, it was time that the Christ should appear. As they saw this certain sign of the approach of that new king, whose empire was to extend over

John xviii. 31. Acts xii. 1, 2, 3. xxiii. xxiv.

Acts vii. 57. 58.

Tract. voc. magna Gen. seu. Comm. in Gen.

all people, they believed that he was really about to make his appearance. The rumour went abroad through all the country, and the whole East was persuaded it would not be long ere they saw come out of Judea, those who should reign over all the earth.

Tacitus and Suetonius relate this rumour as raised upon a standing opinion, and an ancient oracle, found in the sacred books of the Jewish people. Josephus recites the prophecy in the same terms, and says, like them, that it was to be found in the holy books. The authority of these books, the prediction of which had been seen so visibly accomplished upon so many occasions, was great in all the east: and the Jews more attentive than others in observing conjunctures, which were chiefly marked for their instruction, acknowledged the time of the Messiah, which Jacob had fixed in their decline. Thus the reflections they made on their state were just, and so far were they from mistaking the times of the Christ, that they knew he was come at the time he actually did. But, O the weakness of the human mind! O vanity, infallible source of blindness! The humility of the Saviour hid from those proud spirits, the true greatness they were to look for in their Messiah. They wanted to have him a king like unto the kings of the earth. Wherefore the flatterers of the first Herod, dazzled with the grandeur and magnificence of that prince, who, tyrant as he was, did nevertheless enrich Judea, said he was himself that so long promised king. And this it was, that gave rise to the sect of the Herodians, so much spoke of in the gospel, and whom the heathens also knew, seeing Persius and his scholiast inform us, that never in Nero's time, the birth of king Herod was celebrated by his followers with the same solemnity as the Sabbath. Josephus fell into a like error. This person, "instructed as he says himself, in the Jewish prophecies, as being a priest, and sprung of priestly race," acknowledged indeed that the coming of the king promised by Jacob agreed with the times of Herod, wherein he is

Suet. Vespa. Tac. lib. V. hist. c. 13. Jos. de bell. Jud. vil. 12. Heges. de Exc. Jer. v. 44.

Epip. lib. i. Hær. 20. Herodian.

Mat. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 6. xii. 13. Pers. et vet. Sch. Sat. v. 11, 180. Josep. de bell. Jud. iii. 14.

at so much pains to show a manifest beginning of the downfall of the Jews: but as he saw nothing in his nation that fulfilled the ambitious ideas it had conceived of its Christ, he drove the time of the prophecy a little farther forward, and applying it to Vespasian, affirmed "that that oracle of scripture signified that prince declared emperor in Judea."

Lib. III. de Bell. Jud. 14. vii. 12.

Thus did he wrest the holy scripture to countenance his blind flattery, which transferred to strangers the hope of Jacob and Judah; which sought in Vespasian the son of Abraham and David; and ascribed to an idolatrous prince the title of him, whose light was to bring the Gentiles out of idolatry.

The juncture of time favoured him: but whilst he ascribed to Vespasian, what Jacob had said of the Christ, the bigots, that defended Jerusalem, arrogated it to themselves. It was on this only foundation, that they promised themselves the empire of the world, as Josephus relates; they were more reasonable however than he, in that they did not at least go out of the nation, to find the accomplishment of the promises made to their fathers.

Josep. de bell. Jud. lib. vii.

How was it that they did not open their eyes to the rich fruit, which was from that time brought forth among the Gentiles by the preaching of the gospel, and to that new empire wherein piety reigned, wherein the true God triumphed over idolatry, wherein eternal life was proclaimed to infidel nations? And was not the empire of the Cesars itself but a vain pomp in comparison of it? But this empire was not showy enough in the eyes of the world.

How thoroughly must we be disabused of human grandeur, in order to know Jesus Christ! The Jews knew the time: the Jews saw nations called to the God of Abraham according to the oracle of Jacob, by Jesus Christ and his disciples, and yet for all that they mistook that Jesus, who was declared to them by so many tokens. And although both in his lifetime, and after his death he confirmed his mission by so

many miracles, those blind people rejected him, because he had nothing in him but solid greatness void of all pageantry which strikes the senses, and came rather to condemn than to crown their blind ambition.

And yet forced by the juncture and circumstances of the time, in spite of their blindness, they seemed sometimes to get free from their prejudices. Every thing was so disposed at the time of our Lord's coming, for the manifestation of the Messiah, that they suspected St. John Baptist might possibly be he. His austere, extraordinary, astonishing manner of life struck them: and in default of worldly grandeur, they seemed willing at first to content themselves with the eminence of so surprising a deportment. The simple and ordinary life of Jesus Christ, as it shocked that as gross as proud generation, who could be catched only by the senses, and who besides were so far from a sincere conversion, that they would admire nothing but what they looked upon as inimitable. In this manner St. John Baptist, whom they judged worthy to be the Christ, was not believed when he pointed out the true Christ; and Jesus Christ, who was to be imitated when believed in, appeared too humble to the Jews to be followed. Luke iii. 15. John i. 19, 20.

However, the impression they had received, that the Christ was to appear at this time, was so strong, that it remained nigh a century amongst them. They thought that the accomplishment of the prophecies might have a certain extent, and was not always confined to one precise point of a period; insomuch that for near an hundred years there was nothing to be heard of among them but false Christs, who got themselves followed, and false prophets, who proclaimed them. Former ages had seen nothing like this, nor did the Jews offer to prostitute the name of Christ, either when Judas Maccabeus gained so many victories over their tyrant, or when his brother Simon freed them from the yoke of the Gentiles, or when the first Hyrcanus made so many conquests. The times and

other marks did not agree; nor was there, till the age of Jesus Christ, the least talk of all those Messiahs. The Samaritans, who read in the Pentateuch the prophecy of Jacob, made Christs to themselves, as well as the Jews, and a little after Jesus Christ they acknowledged their Dositheus. Simon Magus, of the same country, boasted also that he was the Son of God, and Menander, his disciple, styled himself the Saviour of the world. In Jesus Christ's life-time, the Samaritan woman had believed that the Messiah *was about to come:* so undoubted was the opinion in the nation, and among all those, who read the ancient oracle of Jacob, that the Christ was to appear in those days.

Orig. Tract. 27. in Matth. tom. 14. cont. Cel. Ire. i. 20, 21. ὡς χίλια, John iv. 25.

When the time was so far past, that there was no longer any thing to expect, and the Jews had found by experience, that all the Messiahs they had followed, far from delivering them out of their calamities, had only sunk them deeper into them; then were they a long time without there appearing any new Messiahs among them, and Barchochebas was the last whom they acknowledged as such in those first ages of Christianity. But the old impressions could not be utterly eraced. Instead of believing that Christ had appeared, as they had done even in Hadrian's time; under the Antonines his successors, they took it into their heads to say, that their Messiah was in the world, although he did not yet make his appearance, because he waited for the prophet Elias, who was to come to anoint him. Such language was common in St. Justin's time, and we find also in their Talmud the doctrine of one of their most ancient masters, who said, "that the Christ was come, as pointed out in the prophecies but that he kept himself concealed somewhere at Rome among the poor mendicants."

Justin. adv. Tryph. R. Judafilius Levi. Gem. San. xi.

Such a wild conceit could not gain much ground; and the Jews, forced at last to confess that the Messiah was not come in the time they had reason to expect him according to their ancient prophecies, fell into another abyss. They were within a small matter

of renouncing the hope of their Messiah, who had not kept his time; and many followed a famous rabbi, whose words are still to be found preserved in the Talmud. This man seeing the term so far past, concluded that "the Israelites had no more any Messiah to expect, because he had been given them in the person of king Hezekiah.

R. Hillel. ibid. Is. Abran. de. cap fidei.

Indeed, this opinion, far from prevailing among the Jews was detested by them. But as they no longer know any thing about the times signified in the prophecies, and are at a loss which way to get out of this labyrinth, they have made an article of faith of that expression; which we read in the Talmud, "All the terms that were fixed for the coming of the Messiah, are past;" and have pronounced with one consent, "Cursed be they who shall compute the times of the Messiah;" as we behold in a storm, which has driven the ship too far off its course, the despairing pilot quits his reckoning, and goes where chance carries him.

Gem. San. c. x. Moses Maimon. in Epit. Talm. Is. Abran. de cap fidei.

From that time, their whole study, hath been to elude the prophecies, in which the time of the Christ was pointed out: they did not care if they overthrew all the traditions of their fathers provided they could but deprive the christians of those admirable prophecies; nay, they have gone so far as affirm, that that of Jacob did not relate to the Christ.

Gem. Tr. Sanhed. c. xi. Parap. Onkelos. Johanan. & Hierosol. v. Polyg. Aug.

But their own ancient books give them the lie. That prophecy is understood of the Messiah in the Talmud, and the manner in which we explain it, is to be found in their paraphrases, that is, in the most authentic and most regarded commentaries extant among them.

We find there, in express terms, that the house and kingdom of Judah, to which the whole posterity of Jacob, and people of Israel, were to be one day reduced, should always produce "judges and magistrates," until the coming of the Messiah, under whom there should be formed a kingdom made up of all nations.

This was the testimony which the most celebrated and approved doctors of the Jews bore to them in the earliest ages of christianity. The ancient tradition, so steady and well established, could not be abolished all at once; and although the Jews did not apply to Jesus Christ the prophecy of Jacob, they had not yet dared to deny that it agreed to the Messiah. They came not to that wild extravagance till long after, and when hard pressed by the christians, they at last perceived that their own tradition was against them.

As for the prophecy of Daniel, wherein the coming of the Christ was limited to the term of 490 years, to count from the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus; as that term carried to the end of the fourth millenary, of the world, it was also a very ancient tradition among the Jews, that the Messiah should appear towards the end of that millenary, and about two thousand years after Abraham. One Elias, whose name is great among the Jews, though he was not the prophet, had thus taught before the birth of Jesus Christ; and the tradition is preserved in the book of the Talmud. You have seen this accomplished at the coming of our Lord, since he actually appeared about two thousand years after Abraham, and towards the 4000th year of the world. However, the Jews knew him not, and being disappointed of their expectation, they said that their sins had retarded the Messiah, who was to come. But nevertheless our dates are ascertained by their own confessions; and it is a strange degree of blindness, to make a term depend on Men, which God hath so precisely fixed in Daniel.

Gem. Tr. San. c. xi.

It is also no small embarrassment to them, to find that that prophet makes the time of Christ go before that of the destruction of Jerusalem; insomuch that this time being accomplished, that which precedes it must needs be so too.

Josephus has grossly erred in this particular. He rightly computed the weeks, which were to be follow-

Antiq. x. c. ult. de

ed by the desolation of the Jewish people; and finding them fulfilled at the time that Titus laid siege to Jerusalem, he made no doubt but the moment of the destruction of the city was come. But he did not consider that that desolation was to be preceded by the coming of the Christ, and by his death; so that he understood but one half of the prophecy. bell Jud. vii. 4.

The Jews, who came after him, were willing to supply this defect. They have forged to us an Agrippa descended of Herod, whom the Romans, say they, put to death a little before the destruction of Jerusalem; and they will have it, that this Agrippa, Christ by his title of king, is the Christ spoken of in Daniel: a fresh proof of their blindness! For besides that this Agrippa can neither be the righteous, nor the holy One, nor the end of the prophecies, such as the Christ, whom Daniel pointed out in that place, must have been; besides that the murder of that Agrippa, in which the Jews had no hand, could not be the cause of their desolation, as the death of Daniel's Christ was to be; what the Jews say on this head is all a fable. That Agrippa descended of Herod was ever on the side of the Romans: he was always well treated by their emperors, and reigned in a canton of Judea a long time after the taking of Jerusalem, as Josephus and other cotemporaries attest. Joseph. lib. vii. de bell. Jud. Justus Tiber. Biblio. Phot. cod. 33.

Thus all that the Jews devise to elude the prophecies, serves but to confute them. They themselves do not rely upon so gross fictions, and their best defence consists in that law, which they enacted, to compute no more the days of the Messiah. Thereby do they willingly shut their eyes to the truth, and renounce the prophecies, wherein the Holy Ghost hath himself numbered the years: but whilst they renounce them, they fulfil them, and demonstrate the truth of what they say of their blindness and fall.

Let them answer what they will to the prophecies; the desolation, which these foretold, hath befallen them at the time appointed; the event is of more

force than all their quibbles: and if the Christ did not come in that fatal conjuncture, the prophets, in whom they trust, have deceived them.

And to complete their conviction, please observe two circumstances, that attended their fall, and the coming of the Saviour of the world: the one, that the succession of priests, uninterrupted and unalterable from Aaron, came then to an end; the other, that the distinction of tribes and families, ever preserved till that time, was then lost, by their own confession.

This distinction was necessary till the time of the Messiah. From Levi were to proceed the ministers in sacred things. From Aaron were to come forth the priests and highpriests. From Judah was to spring the Messiah himself. Had not the distinction of families subsisted till the destruction of Jerusalem, and coming of Jesus Christ, the Jewish sacrifices would have perished before the time, and David would have been disappointed of the glory of being acknowledged as father of the Messiah. Is the Messiah come? Is the new priesthood, after the order of Melchizedek, commenced in his person, and has the new kingdom, which was not of this world, appeared? We have no more need then of Aaron or Levi, Judah or David, or their families. Aaron is no longer necessary in a
Dan. ix. 27. time when sacrifices were to cease, according to Daniel. The house of David and Judah hath fulfilled its destiny, when the Christ of God had proceeded from it; and as if the Jews themselves renounced their hope, they forget precisely at this time the succession of families, till now so carefully and religiously remembered.

Let us not omit one of the marks of the coming of the Messiah, and perhaps the principal one, if we can rightly understand it, though it constitutes the scandal and horror of the Jews. It is the remission of sins in the name of a suffering Saviour, of a Saviour, hum-
Dan. ix. 26. bled and obedient even unto death. Daniel had specified among his weeks, the mysterious week, which

we have observed, wherein the Christ was to be offered up, wherein the ancient sacrifices were to lose their efficacy. Put we Daniel and Isaiah together, and we shall come to the very bottom of so great a mystery; we shall see "the man of sorrows, with the iniquity of all the people laid upon him, pouring out his soul unto death for their transgressions, and by his stripes healing them. Open your eyes ye unbelievers! is it not true that the remission of sins hath been preached to you in the name of Jesus Christ crucified? Had there ever been such a mystery dreamed of? Who else but Jesus Christ, either before or after him, hath gloried in washing away our sins by his blood? Can he have caused himself to be crucified, merely to acquire a vain honour, and accomplish in himself so fatal a prophecy? You ought to be silent, and adore in the gospel a doctrine which could not even enter into the heart of man, if it were not true. Isa. liii

The Jews are extremely puzzled in this point: they find in their scriptures too many passages wherein mention is made of the humiliations of their Messiah. What shall become then of those, which speak of his glory and triumphs? the natural interpretation is, that he shall come to triumph by conflicts, and to glory by sufferings. But O incredible! the Jews have rather chosen to admit two Messiahs. We find in their Talmud and other books of like antiquity, that they expect a suffering Messiah, a Messiah full of glory: the one dead and risen again; the other ever happy and victorious: the one, to whom agree all the passages where weakness is spoken of; the other to whom allude, all those where greatness is mentioned; one in fine, the son of Joseph, for they have not been able to deny him one of the characters of Jesus Christ, who was the reputed son of Joseph; and another the son of David, without ever caring to know that this Messiah the son of David was, according to David himself, 'to drink of the brook in the way before he should lift his head;' that is, to be afflicted, before he was trium- Tr. Suc. & Com. five Parap. sup. Cant. 6, 7. v. 3. Ps. cx.

phant; as saith the son of David himself: O fools,
Luke xxiv. 25, 26. and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?

Moreover, if we understand the Messiah, that great passage where Isaiah represents to us in so lively a manner 'the man of sorrows stricken for our transgressions, and of no form or comeliness, that we should
Is. liii. desire him;' we are also supported in the interpretation, as well as in all the rest, by the ancient tradition of the Jews: and in spite of their prejudices, the
Gen. Tr. Sanhe. lib. xi. chapter, so often cited in their Talmud, teaches us, that that person 'of no form or comeliness, with the transgressions of the people laid upon him, shall be the Messiah.' The sorrows of the Messiah, which shall be occasioned him by our sins, are noted
Ibid. in the same place, and in the other books of the Jews. There is frequent mention in them of the entry, equally humble and glorious, that he was to make into Jerusalem riding upon an ass, and that celebrated prophecy of Zechariah is applied to him. What reason have the Jews to complain? Every thing was marked to them in precise terms by their prophets: their ancient tradition had preserved the natural explication of those famous prophecies, and there is nothing more just than that reproach, which is made them by
Matt. xxvi. 2, 3. Luke xii. 56. the Saviour of the world: 'Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky, and tell whether it shall be fair or foul weather: but how is it that ye do not discern this time?'

Let us conclude then, that the Jews have truly had reason to say, that "all the terms of the Messiah's coming are past." Judah is no more a kingdom, nor a people; other nations have confessed the Messiah, who was to be sent. Jesus Christ hath been shown to the Gentiles: at that sign they have turned without delay to the God of Abraham, and the blessing of that patriarch hath diffused itself over the whole earth. The man of sorrows hath been preached, and the re-

mission of sins proclaimed by his death. All the weeks have elapsed; the desolation of the people, and of the sanctuary, a just punishment of the death of Christ, hath had its final accomplishment; in short, the Christ hath appeared with all the characters the tradition of the Jews confessed in him, and their incredulity remains without excuse.

So do we see, from that time, undoubted marks of their reprobation. After Jesus Christ, they did nothing but plunge themselves more and more into ignorance and misery, whence the extremity alone of their calamities, and the shame of having been so often a prey to error shall deliver them; or rather the goodness of God, when the time appointed by his providence for punishing their ingratitude and subduing their pride shall be accomplished.

In the mean time they remain the scorn of nations, and the object of their aversion; nor hath so long a captivity made them yet come to themselves, though that one would think should be sufficient to convince them. For indeed, as St. Jerom says to them, "what dost thou expect, O unbelieving Jew? Thou didst commit much wickedness during the time of the judges: thine idolatry had made thee a slave to all the nations round about; but God soon took pity on thee and was not slow to send thee Saviours. Thou didst multiply thine idolatries under thy kings; but the abominations into which thou fellest under Ahaz and Manasseh, were punished only by seventy years captivity. Cyrus came and restored to thee thy native country, thy temple, and thy sacrifices. At length thou wast overthrown by Vespasian and Titus. Fifty years after, Adrian completed thy extirpation; and four hundred years hast thou groaned under oppression. Thus St. Jerom. The argument is strengthened since, and thirteen hundred years have been added to the desolation of the Jewish people. Let us say then instead of four hundred years, that seventeen centuries have beheld the continuance of their captivity,

Hier. Ep. ad Dar. Tom. 3. Epist.

nor has their yoke become lighter. "What have ye done, O ungrateful people! Slaves in all countries, and of all princes, ye do not serve strange gods. How hath God, who had elected you, forgotten you, and where are his former tender mercies? What wickedness, what greater crime than idolatry, makes you feel a chastisement, that your idolatries had never brought upon you? Ye hold your peace. Ye cannot comprehend, what makes God so inexorable. Remember that expression of your fathers: *His blood be on us, and on our children;* and again: *We have no king but Cesar.* The Messiah shall not be your king; hold fast that which you have chosen: continue the slave of Cesar and of the kings, *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel be saved.*

Mat. xxvii. 20. John xix. 15. Rom. xi 25, 26.

XI. Particular reflections on the conversion of the Gentiles. The profound counsel of God, who was pleased to convert them by the cross of Christ.

This conversion of the Gentiles was the second thing, that was to happen at the time of the Messiah, and the surest mark of his coming. We have seen how the prophets had clearly foretold it, and their promises were verified in the times of our Lord. It is certain, that then only, and neither sooner nor later, what the philosophers never dared to attempt, what neither the prophets nor the Jewish people, when it was most protected and most faithful, were able to effect, twelve fishermen sent by Jesus Christ, and witnesses of his resurrection, accomplished. The conversion of the world, was neither to be the work of philosophers, nor even of prophets: it was reserved for the Christ, and was the fruit of his cross.

St. Paul's reasoning on this manner of converting them. Is. ii. 2. Ib. 2, 3. Ib. 17, 18.

It behoved indeed that Christ and his apostles should go forth from the Jews, and that the preaching of the gospel should begin at Jerusalem. "A mountain was to be established and exalted in the last days," according to Isaiah: and this was the christian church. "All the Gentiles were to come thither, and many nations were to flow unto it. The Lord alone was to be exalted in that day: and the idols he was "utterly to abolish." But Isaiah, who saw these things, saw

also at the same time, that "the law, which was to judge among the nations, should go forth out of Zion; and that the word of the Lord, which was to rebuke many people, should go forth from Jerusalem;" which made our Saviour say, that "salvation was of the Jews." And it was fit that the new light, wherewith the people plunged in idolatry were one day to be enlightened, should spread itself abroad through the whole world, from the place where it had ever been. It was in Jesus Christ, the Son of David and Abraham, that all nations were to be blessed and sanctified. This we have oft taken notice of; but we have not yet observed the cause for which this suffering Jesus, this Jesus, crucified and set at nought, was to be the sole author of the conversion of the Gentiles, and the alone conqueror of idolatry.

Is. ii. 3, 4.

John iv. 22.

Saint Paul hath explained this mystery to us in the first chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, and it may not be improper to consider that beautiful passage in its full extent. *Christ*, said he, *sent me to preach the Gospel; not with wisdom of words* and human reasoning, *lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness: but unto us, which are saved, it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?* Doubtless, since it could not bring men out of their ignorance. But the reason St. Paul gives for it is this: *After that in the wisdom of God*, that is, in the creatures he had so wisely ordained, *the world by wisdom knew not God*, he took another way, and *was pleased by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe*, that is, by the mystery of the cross, wherein human wisdom can comprehend nothing.

1 Cor. i. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Isaiah xxix. 24. xxxiii. 18.

1 Cor. i. 21.

New and admirable design of divine providence! God had introduced man into the world, where, which

way soever he turned his eyes, the wisdom of the Creator shone conspicuous, in the greatness, magnificence, riches, and disposition of that so glorious work. Man nevertheless mistook him: the creatures, which presented themselves to raise our mind higher, fixed it here below: blind and brutish man paid them adoration; and not satisfied with worshipping the works of God's hands, he fell down to the works of his own. Fables more ridiculous than those that are told to children, constituted his religion: he forgot reason: but God will have him to forget it in another manner. A work, the wisdom whereof he understood, touched him not; another work is presented to him, wherein his reasoning loseth itself, and in which all appeareth to him foolishness: namely, the cross of Christ. It is not by reasoning we come to understand this mystery, 2 Cor. x. 5. but "by bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ;" but "by casting down imaginations," (or reasonings) "and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God."

And indeed, what do we comprehend in this mystery, wherein the Lord of glory is loaded with reproaches; wherein the divine wisdom is branded with folly; wherein He, who, secure in himself of his na- Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8. tive majesty, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant; humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross?" All our thoughts are confounded; and as St. Paul said, there is nothing appeareth more foolish to those, who are not enlightened from above.

Such was the remedy that God prepared for idolatry. He knew the mind of man, and knew that it was not by argument an error must be destroyed, which argument had not established. There are errors, into which we fall, through reasoning; for thereby man often confounds himself: but idolatry had come in by the opposite extreme, by stifling all reasoning, by suffering the senses to predominate, which

were for clothing every thing with the qualities they are affected with: and thus had the Deity become visible and gross. Men gave the divinity their own figure, and what was still more shameful, their vices and passions. Reasoning had no share in so brutal an error. It was a subversion of all right reason, a delirium, a phrenzy. Argue with a frantic person, or against a man in the rage of a burning fever; you do but the more provoke him, and render the distemper incurable. You must go to the cause, correct the temperament, and calm the humours, whose violence occasions such extravagant transports. Just so it must not be reasoning, that will cure the delirium of idolatry. What have the philosophers gained by their pompous discourses, their sublime style, their reasoning so artfully framed? Did Plato with his eloquence, which was thought divine, overthrow one single altar, where those monstrous divinities were worshipped? On the contrary, he and his disciples, and all the wise men of this world sacrificed to a lie: "They became vain in their imaginations: their foolish heart was darkened: professing themselves to be wise they became fools," since, contrary to their natural light, they paid adoration to creatures. Rom. i. 21, 22.

Was it not then with reason, that St. Paul cried out in that passage, "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?" Did they so much as suspect it their duty openly to oppose so many blasphemies, and to suffer, not to say the severest punishment, but even the smallest affront for the truth? So far from that, "they held the truth in unrighteousness," and laid it down as a maxim, that in matters of religion, they were to follow the people: the people, whom they so much despised, was a rule in a matter the most important of all, and in which their superior lights seemed the most necessary. What hast thou then availed, O philosophy? "Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world," as said St. Paul? "Hath he not destroyed the wisdom of 1 Cor. i. 20. Rom. i. 18. 1 Cor. i. 19, 20.

the wise, and brought to nothing the understanding of the prudent?"

Thus hath God shown by experience, that the overthrow of idolatry could not be the work of human reason alone. Far from committing to it the cure of such a malady, God completed its confusion by the mystery of the cross, and at the same time carried home the remedy to the source of the evil.

Idolatry, if we rightly understand it, took its rise from that profound attachment which we have to ourselves. This it was that had made us contrive gods like unto ourselves; gods who in reality were but men, subject to like passions, weaknesses, and vices: so that under the name of deities, it was really their own thoughts, pleasures, and fancies, that the Gentiles worshipped.

Jesus Christ leads us into other paths. His poverty, ignominy, and his cross rendered him an object shocking to our senses. We must, if I may so say, divest us of ourselves, renounce all, crucify all, in order to follow him. Man torn from himself, and from all that his corruption made him fond of, becomes capable of adoring God and his eternal truth, whose rules alone he resolves henceforth to walk by.

Then perish and vanish away all idols, both those that were worshipped upon the altars, and those that every one served in his heart. These had set up the others. Men worshipped Venus, because they yielded themselves up to the dominion of love, and were charmed with its power. Bacchus, the most wanton of all the gods, had altars because the people abandoned themselves, and sacrificed, so to speak, to the delight of their senses, more pleasing, and intoxicating than wine. Jesus Christ by the mystery of his cross comes to imprint upon their hearts the love of sufferings instead of pleasures. The idols that were worshipped without were scattered, because those that were worshipped within did not more subsist: the

Matt. v. 8.

pure in spirit, saith Christ himself, are rendered capable of seeing God; and man, far from making God like to himself, strives rather, as far as his weakness can suffer him, to become like unto God.

The mystery of Christ Jesus hath let us see, how the Deity could without diminution of its glory be united to our nature, and clothe itself with our infirmities. The word is made flesh: he who had *the form* and nature of God, without losing what he was, *took upon him the form of a servant.* Unalterable in himself, he unites, he assumes to himself a foreign nature. O men! ye were for gods that should be, to say the truth, but men, and those vicious men too: this was no small blindness. But here is a new object of adoration for you! God and man together; but a man, who hath lost nothing of what he was by taking upon him what we are. The Deity remains immutable; and without a possibility of debasing itself exalts what it unites with it. Phil. ii. 6, 7.

But further, what is it that God hath taken of us? our vices and sins? God forbid; he took nothing of man, but what he made in man; and it is certain that he had made in him neither sin nor vice. He had made his nature, his nature he took upon him. It may be said that he had made mortality with the infirmity that attends it, because, although it might not be in the first design, it was the just punishment of sin, and in that quality was the work of the divine justice. So therefore God did not disdain to take it upon him; and, by taking upon him the pain of sin without sin itself, he showed that he was not a guilty person punished, but the righteous atoning for the sins of others.

So that instead of the vices, which men feigned in their Gods, all the virtues appeared in this God-man; and that they might shine forth in the severest trials, they appeared amidst the most horrid torments. Let us no more seek another visible God after this: he only is worthy to pull down all idols; and the victory he was to gain over them, is fastened to his cross.

That is to say, it is fastened to an apparent folly,
1 Cor. i. 22, 23, 24, 25. *For the Jews*, as St. Paul goes on, *require a sign*, whereby God moving all nature with power and great glory, as he did at the departure out of Egypt, may set them visibly above their enemies; *and the Greeks*, or the Gentiles *seek after wisdom*, and laboured discourses, like those of their Plato and Socrates. *But we*, continues the apostle, *preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block*, and not a sign; *and unto the Gentiles foolishness*, and not wisdom: *but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men.* Behold the finishing stroke, that was to be given to our conceited ignorance. The wisdom to which we are called, is so sublime, that it appears folly to our wisdom; and its rules are so exalted, that the whole seems an extravagant flight of error.

But if that divine wisdom is impenetrable to us in itself, it declares itself by its effects. A virtue goes out from the cross, and all the idols are shaken. We see them fall to the ground, though supported by the whole Roman power. It is not the wise, it is not the noble, it is not the mighty that have wrought so great a miracle. The work of God hath been carried on by succession; and what he had begun by the humi-
1 Cor. i. 26, 27, 28, 29. liation of Jesus Christ, he hath finished by the humiliation of his disciples. *For ye see your calling, brethren*, thus St. Paul concludes his admirable discourse, you see those whom God hath called amongst you, and of whom he hath composed this church victorious over the world; "how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things that are mighty: and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence." The apostles

and their disciples, the outcasts of the world, nay, mere nothing itself, to behold them with human eyes, have prevailed over all the emperors, and the whole empire. Men had forgot the creation, and God hath renewed it by producing out of that nothing, his church, which he hath rendered all powerful against error. He hath confounded together with idols all human greatness that interposed in their defence; and he hath performed so great work, as he had done the universe, by the sole power of his word.

XII. Different forms of idolatry, the senses, interest, ignorance, a false veneration for antiquity, policy, philosophy and heresies come to its aid: the church triumphs over all.

Idolatry appears to us weakness itself, and we can hardly conceive how so much strength should have been requisite to destroy it. But on the contrary, its extravagance shows the difficulty there was to conquer it, and so great a subversion of right reason sufficiently demonstrates how much the first principles were tainted. The world was grown old in idolatry: and infatuated by its idols was become deaf to the voice of nature which cried out against them. What power was there not necessary to recal to the memory of man the true God so profoundly forgot, and to recover mankind from so woful a state of stupidity.

All the senses, all the passions, all interests fought for idolatry. It was quite calculated for pleasure: diversions, shows, and even lewdness itself made a part of the divine worship. The festivals were nothing but farces; and there was no scene of man's life, whence modesty was more industriously banished, than from the mysteries of religion. How shall you accustom minds so corrupted to the regularity of true religion, which is chaste, severe, an enemy to the senses, and solely intent upon invisible joys? As St. Paul spoke to Felix governor of Judea, "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, he trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee." This was a discourse to be put far off by a man, who was resolved to enjoy, without scruple, and at any rate, the good things of the earth.

Acts xxiv. 25.

Would you see the efforts of interest, that powerful spring, which gives motion to human affairs? In that great downery of idolatry, which St. Paul's preaching begun to cause in all Asia, the craftsmen who got their living by making little silver shrines, or temples, of Diana of Ephesus, assembled themselves together, and the leading man among them represented to them, that their gain was like to cease: "and not only," says he, "this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also the temple of the great goddess Diana shall be despised, and her magnificence shall be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth."

Acts xix. 27.

How powerful is interest, and how bold, when it can cloak itself with the pretext of religion! There needed no more to stir up the workmen. They sallied forth with one accord like so many madmen, crying out, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, and dragging St. Paul's companions to the theatre, where the whole city was tumultuously assembled. Then the cries were redoubled, and for the space of two hours the public place rung with these words, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*. St. Paul and his companions, were with difficulty rescued out of the hands of the people by the magistrates, who feared lest there should happen greater disorders in the uproar. If to the interest of private persons you join the interest of the priests, who were about to fall with their gods; and to all this add the interest of the cities, which false religion rendered considerable, as the city of Ephesus, which owed to its temple its privileges, and the resort of strangers, whereby it was enriched; what storm must there arise against the infant church? and need we be surprised to see the apostles so often beaten, stoned, and left for dead in the midst of the populace? But a greater interest is about to move a greater machine; the interest of the state is about to put the senate, people, and emperors all in action.

The decrees of the senate had long prohibited strange religions. The emperors had entered into the same policy; and in that great consultation about reforming abuses of the government, one of the chief regulations that Mecenas proposed to Augustus, was the preventing of innovations in religion, which never failed to occasion dangerous commotions in a state. The maxim was just: for what is there that more violently agitates men's minds, and carries them to stranger excesses? But God was resolved to show that the establishment of the true religion excited no such troubles; and this is one of the wonders, which demonstrates his having had a hand in the work. For who would not be amazed to see that during three hundred long years, that the church had to suffer all the cruelties that the rage of persecutors could invent, amidst so many seditions and civil wars, amidst so many conspiracies against the persons of emperors, there should never be found one single Christian, good or bad? The Christians defy their greatest enemies to name one; indeed, there never was one: so much veneration for the public powers did the Christian doctrine inspire; and so deep was the impression made on all their minds by these words of the son of God: "Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

Liv. lib. xxxix. &c. Orat. Mæce. ap. Dio. lii. Tertul. Apolog. 5. Eus. Hist. Eccl. ii. 2. Tertul. Apolo. 35, 36, &c. Matth. xxii. 21.

That beautiful distinction conveyed so clear a light into their minds, that never did the Christians cease to reverence the image of God, in princes, even when these were persecutors of the truth. This principle shines so bright in all their apologies, that they inspire, even at this day, those that read them, with the love of public order, and shows that they expected from none but God the establishment of Christianity. Men so determined against the fear of death, who filled the whole empire, and all the armies, did never once fly out into any disorder during so many ages of sufferings. They forbid themselves not only seditious actions, but even the smallest murmur. The finger of

Tertul. Apolog. 37.

God was in the work, and no other hand but his could have restrained spirits provoked by so many injuries.

Indeed, it was hard for them to be treated as public enemies, and enemies of the emperors, them who breathed nothing but obedience, and whose most ardent wishes were for the safety of the princes, and happiness of the state. But the Roman policy thought itself attacked in its foundations, when its gods were despised. Rome boasted of being a holy city from her foundation, consecrated at her original by divine auspices, and dedicated by her founder to the god of war. She almost believed Jupiter more present in the capitol, than in heaven. She thought she owed her victories to her religion. It was thereby she had overcome both nations and their gods, for such was the reasoning at the time: so that the Roman gods must have been masters of other gods, as the Romans were masters of other men. Rome by subduing Judea had reckoned the God of the Jews among the gods she had vanquished: to pretend to establish his reign, was to sap the foundations of the empire; it was to hate the victories and power of the Roman people. Thus the Christians, enemies of the gods, were looked upon at the same time as enemies of the republic. The emperors took more pains to exterminate them, than to exterminate the Parthians, Marcomans, or Dacians. Christianity overthrown appeared in their inscriptions with as much pomp as the Samaritans defeated. But they unjustly boasted of having destroyed a religion which was still growing under fire and sword. In vain were calumnies joined to cruelty. Men who practised virtues above man, were accused of vices, which are shocking to human nature. Those were accused of incest, whose chastity was their delight. Those were accused of eating their own children, who did all the good in their power to their persecutors. But in spite of the public hatred, the force of truth drew favourable reports from the mouths of their enemies. Every body knows what the younger Pliny wrote to Trajan concerning the good behaviour of the Christians. They

Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. Orat. Symm. ad Imper Valer. Theod. & Arc. ap. Amb. tom. v. lib. v. Ep. 30. Zosim. Hist. lib. ii. iv. &c.

Plin. lib. x. Ep. 97.

were justified, but not exempted from the severest punishment; for this last stroke was requisite in order to finish in them the image of Jesus Christ crucified, and they must, like him, go to the cross with a public declaration of their innocence.

But idolatry did not lay its whole stress upon violence. Although its basis was a brutal ignorance, and a total depravation of common sense, it was willing to colour itself over with some show of argument. How many times did it endeavour to disguise itself in order to cover its shame! it sometimes affected a reverence for the deity, saying, whatever is divine is unknown: the Deity alone knows itself; it is not for us to enter into so high matters; wherefore we are to believe our forefathers, and every one ought to follow the religion, which he finds established in his country. By these maxims, errors equally gross and impious, which filled the whole earth, were without remedy; and the voice of nature, which proclaimed the true God, was stifled. There was ground to think that the weakness of our erring reason stood in need of some authority to bring it back to its first priciple, and that it is from antiquity we must learn true religion. And so you have seen the uninterrupted progression of it from the beginning of the world. But of what antiquity could Paganism boast, which could not read its own histories without finding in them the origin not only of its religion, but even of its Gods? Varro and Cicero, not to mention other authors, have sufficiently shown this. Or should we have recourse to those numberless thousands of years, which the Egyptians filled with confused and impertinent fables, in order to establish the antiquity they boasted; yet there too were to be seen the birth and death of the divinities of Egypt, and that people could not make themselves ancient, without pointing out the beginning of their gods. De Nat. Deor. lib. i. & iii.

But behold another form of idolatry; and this would have men to adore every thing that passed for divine. The Roman policy, which so strictly prohi-

bited strange religions, allowed the worshipping of the gods of the barbarians, provided it had adopted them. Thus it did affect to appear equitable towards all gods, as well as towards all men. It sometimes offered incense to the God of the Jews with the rest. We find a letter of Julian the apostate, whereby he promises to the Jews to rebuild the holy city, and with them to sacrifice to God the Creator of the universe. It was a common error. We have seen, that the heathens were very willing to worship the true God, but not the true God alone; and it was not the fault of the emperors, that Jesus Christ himself, whose disciples they were persecuting, had not altars among the Romans.

Jul. Ep. comm. Judæor.

How! could the Romans ever think of honouring as a God him whom their magistrates had condemned to the most infamous punishment, and whom several of their authors have loaded with reproaches? The thing is incontestible, nor need we be astonished at it.

Let us first of all distinguish what general assertions a blind inveteracy dictates, from positive facts ascertained by proof. Certain it is that the Romans, though they condemned Jesus Christ, did never tax him with any one particular crime. This made Pilate condemn him with such reluctance, when overcome by the clamours and threats of the Jews. But what is much more wonderful, the Jews themselves, at whose instance he was crucified, have not preserved in their ancient books the memory of any one action, that might cast the least blemish upon his life, so far were they from remarking any that should have made him deserve the cruelest and most ignominious punishment: whereby is manifestly confirmed what we read in the Gospel, that our Lord's whole crime was his having called himself the Christ the Son of God.

Indeed Tacitus gives us an account of Jesus Christ's suffering under Pontius Pilate, and during the empire of Tiberius; but he mentions not one crime that should have made him worthy of death, save that of

Tac. An. xv. 44.

being the author of a sect convicted of hating mankind, or of being hateful to it. Such was the crime of Jesus Christ and the Christians; and their greatest enemies could never accuse them but in vague terms, without ever producing one positive fact that could be laid to their charge.

It is true, that in the last persecution, and three hundred years after Jesus Christ, the heathens, being quite at a loss how to brand either him or his disciples, published forged acts of Pilate, wherein they pretended the crimes were to be seen, for which our Saviour had been crucified. But as we hear nothing of those acts in all the preceding ages, and as neither under Nero, nor Domitian, who swayed the imperial sceptre in the beginning of Christianity, how great enemies soever they were to it, do we find one word about them, it evidently appears that they were cooked up for the purpose; and there were among the Romans, so few certain proofs against Jesus Christ, that his enemies were obliged to have recourse to fiction.

Behold then one clear point, the innocence of Jesus Christ irreproachable. Let us add another, the holiness of his life and doctrine acknowledged. One of the greatest Roman emperors, namely, Alexander Severus, admired our Lord, and caused some sentences of his Gospel to be inscribed on the public works, as well as in his own palace. The same emperor commended, and proposed as a pattern, the godly caution with which the Christians ordained ministers in sacred things. But this is not all: there was in his palace a sort of chapel, where he sacrificed every morning. He had consecrated the images of *holy souls*, among which he ranked with Orpheus, Jesus Christ and Abraham. He had another chapel, or as you please to translate the Latin word *Lararium*, of less dignity than the former, where were to be seen the images of Achilles, and some other great men; but Jesus Christ was placed in the foremost rank. 'Tis a heathen that records it, and for a witness he

Lampr. in Alex. Sev. c. 45, 51.

Id. c. 29, 31.

cites an author of Alexander's own time. These then are two witnesses of this one fact, and here is another fact, which is no less surprizing.

Porph. t. de Philos. per Or. Euseb. Dem. Ev. iii. 8. Aug. de Civ. Dei xix. c. 23.

Although Porphyry, by abjuring Christianity, had declared himself an enemy to it, he nevertheless, in the book entitled *Philosophy by Oracles*, owns that there were some of them very favourable to the holiness of Jesus Christ.

God forbid that we should learn from lying oracles the glory of the Son of God, who silenced them by his birth. Those oracles quoted by Porphyry are mere inventions of men: but it is proper to know what the heathens put into the mouths of their gods concerning our Lord. Porphyry then assures us that there were oracles, "wherein Jesus Christ is called a pious man, and worthy of immortality; and the Christians, on the contrary, are termed an impure and deluded people." He afterward recites the oracle of the goddess Hecate, where she speaks of Jesus Christ as "of a man eminent for his piety, whose body indeed yielded to torments, but whose soul is in heaven with the blessed souls. This soul," said Porphyry's goddess, "by a kind of fatality, hath instilled error into the souls, to whom destiny hath not allotted the gifts of the gods, and the knowledge of the great Jupiter; wherefore they are enemies to the gods. But take care how you blame him," pursues she, speaking of Jesus Christ, "and only pity the error of those whose unhappy fate I have related to you." Pompous expressions, and entirely void of meaning! but they prove that the glory of our Lord forced praises from his enemies.

Tr. de Idolat. & Com. in Ecc. Tr. de Sab. c. 12 lib. generat. Jesu, seu

Besides the innocence and holiness of Jesus Christ, there is yet a third thing of no less consequence than either; and that is, his miracles. Certain it is, that the Jews never denied them; and we find in their Talmud some of those which his disciples wrought in his name. Only, in order to blacken them, they said he had performed them by incantations, which he had

learned in Egypt; or even by the name of God, that unknown and ineffable name, whose virtue is all powerful, according to the Jews, and which Jesus Christ had dicovered, none knows how, in the sanctuary; or in fine, because he was one of those prophets pointed out by Moses, whose lying miracles were to turn the people to idolatry. Jesus Christ, the conqueror of idols, whose Gospel hath caused one God alone to be acknowledged through all the earth, needeth not to be justified from this imputation: true prophets have no less preached his divinity than he hath himself; and what must result from the testimony of the Jews is, that Jesus Christ worked his miracles in order to prove his mission. hist. Jesus. Deut. xiii. 1. 2.

Moreover, when they tax him with having performed them by the power of magic, they would do well to consider, that Moses was accused of the same crime. This was the ancient opinion of the Egyptians, who, astonished at the wonders God had wrought in their country by that great man, had classed him in the number of chief magicians. We may likewise see this opinion in Pliny and Apuleius, where Moses stands named with Jannes and Jambres, those celebrated enchanters of Egypt, whom St. Paul speaks of, and whom Moses had confounded by his miracles. But the answer of the Jews was easy. The delusions of the magicians never had a lasting effect, nor do they tend to establish, as did Moses, the worship of the true God, and holiness of life; besides that, God knows always how to get the mastery, and to perform works that defy the imitation of adverse power. The very same arguments set Jesus Christ above so vain an accusation, which therefore, as we have already remarked, serves only to prove his miracles incontestable. Pliny xxxi. 1. Apul. Apol. 2 Tim iii. 8.

So eminently are they so indeed, that the Gentiles could no more disallow them than the Jews. Celsus, the great enemy of the Christians, and who attacks them in the earliest times with all imaginable address, Orig. cont. Cels. l. ii.

searching with infinite pains for every thing that might make to their prejudice, did not pretend to deny all our Lord's miracles; he shifts it off by saying with the Jews, that Jesus Christ had learned the secrets of the Egyptians, that is, magic, and that he arrogated to himself divinity from the wonders that he wrought by the power of that damnable art. It was for the same reason that the Christians were accounted magicians; and we have a passage of Julian the apostate which treats our Lord's miracles with contempt, but calls them not into question. Volusian, in his epistle to St. Augustine, does the same, and this way of talking was common among the heathens.

Orig. ibid. & in Act. Mar. passim Jul. ap. Cyr. lib. vi.

Ap. Aug. tom. ii. Ep. 3. 4.

We need therefore no longer be astonished, if they who were wont to deify all men in whom any thing extraordinary appeared, should be willing to rank Jesus Christ among their divinities. Tiberius, upon the accounts he had from Judea, proposed to the senate to grant divine honours to Jesus Christ. This is not a fact advanced at random, for Tertullian relates it as public and notorious in his apology, which he presented to the senate in the name of the church, who would not have chose to weaken so good a cause as his by assertions, in which he might have been so easily confuted. But if we want the testimony of a heathen author, Lampridius will tell us, that "Hadrian had reared temples to Jesus Christ, which were still to be seen at the time he wrote;" and that Alexander Severus, after first worshipping him in private, would have altars publicly erected to him, and commanded that our Lord should be numbered with the Gods.

Tertul. apolog. c. 5. Eused. hist. Eccl. li. 2.

Lamp. in Alex. c. 1.

There is certainly great injustice in resolving to believe nothing concerning Jesus Christ, but from those who were none of his disciples: for 'tis to seek faith in infidels, or care and exactness in those who being taken up with quite other matters, held religion as a thing indifferent. But it is true nevertheless, that the glory of Jesus Christ shone with so irresistible bright-

ness, that the world could not forbear rendering him some testimony, and I can bring you none more authentic than that of so many emperors.

I confess however, that they had also another design. There was a mixture of policy in the honours they paid to Jesus Christ. They expected that at last the religions would be united; and that the Gods of all sects would come to be common. The Christians had no notion of this mixed worship, and despised no less the condescensions than the cruelties of the Roman policy. But God was resolved that another principle should make the heathens reject those temples which the emperors were designing Jesus Christ. The idol priests, as we learn from the heathen author already so often quoted, remonstrated to the emperor Hadrian, That "if he consecrated those temples built for the use of the christians, all the other temples would be forsaken, and all the world would embrace the christian religion." Idolatry itself felt in our religion a victorious power against which the false gods could not stand, and proved itself the truth of that saying of the apostle, "What concord hath Christ with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" 2 Cor. vi. 15. 16.

Thus by the power of the cross, the pagan religion, confuted by itself, was falling to ruin; and the unity of God was prevailing in such sort, that at length even idolatry seemed not very averse to it. It argued, that the divine nature, being so great and so extensive, could be expressed neither by one name, nor under one form; but that Jupiter, Mars, Juno, and the rest of the Gods, were in the main but one and the same God, whose infinite virtues were explained and represented by so many different words. When afterwards it was obliged to come to the impure histories of the Gods, to their infamous genealogies, their unchaste loves, their feasts and mysteries, which had no other foundation than those extravagant fables, all religion was turned into allegory: It was the world or the sun, Macrob. i. Sat. 17. & seq. Apul. de Deo. Soc. Aug. de civ. vi. 10, 11.

that proved to be that one God; it was the stars, the air, the fire, the water, the earth, and their various combinations, that were concealed under the names of the Gods, and in their loves. Weak and pitiful evasion! For besides that the fables were scandalous, and all the allegories flat and forced, what was found out at last, but that that one God was the universe with all its parts? So that the foundation of religion was nature, and still the creature adored instead of the creator.

Orig. cont. Cels. v. vi. &c. Plat. Conv. Tim. &c. Porph. lib. ii. de abstin. Apul de Deo Socr. Aug. de civ. Dei viii. 14. & seq. xviii. 21, 22. ix. 3, 6, &c.

These weak pleas for idolatry, though drawn from the philosophy of the Stoics, did not quite satisfy the philosophers. Celsus and Porphyry sought fresh aids in the doctrine of Plato and Pythagoras; and you shall see how they reconciled the unity of God with the multiplicity of the vulgar deities. There was, they said, but one supreme God: But he was so great, that he did not concern himself with small matters. Contented with having made the heavens and the stars, he had not deigned to put a hand to this lower world, but had left it to be framed by his subalterns; and man, though born to know him, because he was mortal, was not a work worthy of his hands. And thus was he inaccessible to our nature, he had his dwelling too high to behold the children of men; the celestial spirits who had made us, were to be our mediators with him, and therefore we are to worship them.

Aug. Ep. iii. ad Volusian, &c.

It is not our present business to refute those dreams of the Platonists, which do indeed fall of themselves. The mystery of Jesus Christ destroyed them fundamentally. That mystery taught men, that God who had made them in his own image, was very far from despising them; that, if they stood in need of a mediator, it was not on account of their nature, which God had made as he had done all the rest, but on account of their sin, whereof they were the sole authors; moreover, that their nature was so far from removing them from God, that God did not disdain to unite himself to them by becoming man, and gave

them for a mediator, not those celestial spirits called demons by the philosophers, and by the scripture angels, but a man, who joining the power of God to our frail nature, should be a remedy for our weakness.

But if the pride of the Platonists could not stoop to the humiliations of the Word made flesh, should they not at least have conceived, that man, though a little lower than the angels, was, for all that, like them, capable of possessing God; so that he was rather their brother than their servant, and was not to worship them, but to worship with them in the spirit of fellowship, Him who had made both them and him after his own likeness? It was therefore not only the last meanness, but also the last ingratitude in mankind, to sacrifice to any other than God; and nothing was blinder than paganism, which, instead of reserving for him that supreme worship, rendered it to so many demons.

Here it was that idolatry, which seemed at its last struggle, completely discovered its weakness. Towards the end of the persecutions, Porphyry being hard put to it by the Christians, was forced to say that sacrifice was not supreme worship; and behold how far he carried his extravagance. That most high God, he said accepted no sacrifice: whatever is material is impure in his eyes, and may not be offered to him. Speech itself ought not to be employed in his worship, because the voice is a corporeal thing: we should adore him in silence, and by bare meditation; any other worship is unworthy so exalted a majesty. Porph. lib. ii. de Abstin. Aust. de civ. x.

Thus God was too great to be praised. It was unlawful to express, as we can, what we conceive of his greatness. Sacrifice, though it was but a way of declaring our profound dependence, and an acknowledgment of his sovereignty, was not for him. So Porphyry expressly affirmed: and what else was this, but to abolish religion, and to leave entirely without

worship, him whom they, that wanted to do so, acknowledged the God of gods.

But what then were those sacrifices which the Gentiles offered in all their temples? Porphyry found out the secret. There were, he said, some unclean, lying, mischievous spirits, who, out of an extravagant pride, would needs pass for gods, and be worshiped as such by men. It was proper to please them, lest they should hurt us. Some, more gay and jovial, suffered themselves to be won by spectacles and games; the more gloomy humour of others required fat odours, and delighted in bloody sacrifices. To what purpose refute such absurdities? 'Tis enough that the Christians gained their cause. It remained certain that all the gods, to whom the Gentiles sacrificed, were evil spirits, whose pride arrogated divinity: so that idolatry, to consider it in itself, appeared only the effect of a brutish ignorance; but to trace it to its source, it was a device deeply hatched, and carried on to the last excess by malicious spirits. And this is what the christians had always asserted; this is what is taught in the Gospel; this is what was sung by the psalmist: "All the gods of the nations are idols; but the Lord made the heavens."

Porph. il. de Abstin. Lab. apud Aug. viii. de Civ. 13.

Psal. xcvi. 5.

And yet, Sir, such was the strange blindness of mankind! idolatry reduced to the lowest extremity, and confuted by itself, did nevertheless keep its ground. There needed only to clothe it with a specious appearance, and to explain it in words of a sound agreeable to the ear, in order to get it entrance into the minds of men. Porphyry was admired. Jamblicus his follower was esteemed a divine person, because he had the art of wrapping up the sentiments of his master in terms seemingly mysterious, though in reality they meant nothing. Julian the apostate, cunning as he was, was caught by these appearances, as the heathens themselves relate. Enchantments, true or false, which those philosophers boasted, their mistaken austerity, their ridiculous abstinence, which went so far

Ennap. Maxim. Oribas. Chrysa.

as to make it a crime to eat the flesh of animals, their superstitious purifications, in fine, their contemplation, which evaporated into empty chimeras, and their words as little solid as they seemed sublime, imposed upon the world. But this was not the main matter. The sanctity of the christian manners, the contempt of pleasure which it enjoined, and more than all, the humility, which was the very soul of christianity, offended men; and if we take it rightly, pride, sensuality, and licentiousness were the only supports of idolatry. Ep. Jul. ad Jam. Amm. Marcel. lib. xxii. xxiii. xxv.

The church was daily rooting it up by her doctrine, and still more by her patience. But those wicked spirits, who had never ceased to deceive men, and who had plunged them into idolatry, did not now forget their malice. They stirred up in the church those heresies which you have seen. Men, falsely curious, and thereby vain and turbulent, had a mind to get a name among the faithful; nor could they content themselves with that sober and temperate wisdom which the apostle had so much recommended to the Christians. They launched too deep into the mysteries, which they pretended to measure by our weak conceptions: new philosophers, who blended human reason with faith, and undertook to lessen the difficulties of christianity, not being able to digest all the foolishness which the world found in the gospel. Thus were all the articles of our faith successively, and with a sort of method, attacked: The creation, the law of Moses the necessary foundation of ours, the divinity of Jesus Christ, his incarnation, his grace, his sacraments, every thing in short afforded matter for scandalous divisions. Celsus and others cast them in our teeth. Idolatry seemed to triumph. It considered christianity as a new sect of philosophy, that was sharing the fate of the rest, and like them, was subdividing into several other sects. The church appeared to them but a human work, ready to fall of itself. Men, concluded that in matters of religion Rom. xii. 3. Orig. lib. v. cont. Cels.

they were not to refine upon their ancestors, nor to attempt to change the world.

In this confusion of sects which pretended to be christian, God did not fail his church. He knew how to preserve to her a badge of authority which heresies could never assume. She was catholic and universal: she included all ages; she extended on all sides. She was apostolic; the continual succession, the chair of unity, the primitive authority belonged to her. All that forsook her had formerly acknowledged her; nor were they able to efface the marks of their innovation and rebellion. The heathens themselves looked upon her as the stock, the whole from whence the parts had broke off, the ever living trunk which the lopt branches had left quite entire. Celsus, who reproached the christians with their divisions into so many schismatical churches which he perceived starting up, observed one church distinguished from all the rest, and always the strongest, which he called, for that reason, *The great Church*. "There are some, said he, among the christians, who do not acknowledge the Creator, nor the traditions of the Jews;" meaning the Marcionites: "but," pursued he, "the great church receiveth them." In the troubles which *Paul* of Samosata excited, the emperor Aurelian had no difficulty to know the true Christian Church to which *the house of the Church* belonged, whether this was the place of prayer, or the house of the bishop. He adjudged it to those "who were in communion with the bishops of Italy and Rome," in regard that he saw the bulk of christians always in that communion. When the emperor Constantius embroiled the whole church, the confusion into which he threw her, could not hinder Ammianus Marcellinus, though a heathen, from acknowledging that the emperor was erring from the right way "of the christian religion, plain and precise of itself, "both in its doctrine and practice. For the true church had a majesty and a rectitude which heresies could neither imitate nor ob-

Iren. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Tertul. de carn. Ch. 2. de. præscri. 20, 21, 32, 36.

Orig. lib. v.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 30.

Amm. Mar. lib. xx.

scure: on the contrary, they unwittingly bore testimony to the catholic church. Constantius, who persecuted St. Athanasius the defender of the ancient faith, "earnestly wished," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "to have him condemned by the authority, which the bishop of Rome had over the rest." By seeking the aid of that authority, he made the very heathens sensible what was wanting to his sect, and honoured the church from which the Arians had seceded: and thus the Gentiles themselves confessed the catholic church. If any one asked them where she held her assemblies, and who were her bishops, they were never at a loss to tell. As for the heresies, do what they would, they never could get rid of the names of their authors. The Sabellians, Paulianists, Arians, Pelagians, and the rest, were in vain offended at the party-title that was given them. The world, however ill they took it, would speak naturally, and denominated each sect from him to whom it owed its rise. As for the great church, the catholic and apostolic church, it never was possible to name to her any other author than Jesus Christ himself, not to specify the first of her pastors without going up to the apostles, nor to give her any other name than that which she assumed. So that all the heretics could do, it was not in their power to conceal her from the heathens. She opened to them her bosom over the whole earth; and they flocked into it from every quarter. Some were perhaps lost in the bye paths; but the catholic church was the highway, whereinto entered always the most part of those who sought Jesus Christ; and experience hath shown that to her it was given to gather in the fulness of the Gentiles. It was her therefore that the infidel emperors assaulted with all their force. Origen informs us that but few heretics suffered for the faith. St. Justin, more ancient than he, hath observed, that the persecution spared the Marcionites and the other heretics. The heathens persecuted none but the church, which they saw extending herself

Amm. Mar. lib. xv.

Orig. cont. Cels. v. Just. Apol. 2.

throughout the whole earth, and acknowledged her alone for the church of Jesus Christ. What though some branches were plucked off? her good sap was not lost for all that: she shot forth by other places, and the lopping of the superfluous wood did but render her fruit the better. In fact, if we take a view of the history of the church, we shall find, that, as oft as any heresy has diminished her, she has repaired her losses, both by extending without and growing in light and piety within, while we see the cut-off branches wither in remote corners. The works of men have perished, maugre the power of hell which supported them: the work of God hath stood fast, and the church hath triumphed over idolatry and all errors.

XIII. General reflection on the constant progress of religion and the affinity there is between the books of Scripture.

This church, ever attacked, and never vanquished, is a perpetual miracle, and a shining testimony of the immutability of the counsels of God. Amidst the various agitations of human affairs, she maintains herself always with an invincible power, insomuch that by an uninterrupted series of above seventeen hundred years, we trace her back to Jesus Christ, in whom she takes up the succession of the ancient people, and finds herself united to the prophets and patriarchs.

Thus the many astonishing miracles which the ancient Hebrews saw with their eyes, serve even at this day to confirm our faith. That great God, who wrought them for a testimony to his unity and omnipotence, what could he do more authentic to preserve the memory of them, than leave in the hands of a whole great nation, the records that attest them digested in the order of time? And this we still have in the books of the Old Testament, that is, in the most ancient books that are in the world: in the books which are the only ones of antiquity wherein the knowledge of the true God is taught, and his service ordained; in the books which the Jewish people have ever so religiously kept. It is certain that this is the only people who have known, from their original, God the Creator of heaven and earth, the only one conse-

quently that must have been the depositary of the divine secrets. They have also preserved them with an unexampled religiousness. The books which the Egyptians and other nations called divine, are long ago lost, and scarce is there left us any confused memorial of them in the ancient histories. The sacred books of the Romans, wherein Numa, the author of their religion, had written the mysteries of it, have perished by the hands of the Romans themselves; and the senate caused them to be burned, as tending to overthrow religion. These same Romans at last suffered to perish the Sibylline books, so long revered among them as prophetical, and wherein they would have had the world to believe that they found the decrees of the immortal Gods concerning their empire, yet without ever having exhibited to the public, not to say one single volume, but so much as one single oracle. The Jews have been the only people whose sacred writings have been held the more in veneration, the more they have been known. Of all the ancient nations they are the only one that have preserved the primitive monuments of their religion, though abounding with proofs of their infidelity, and of that of their progenitors. And even at this day that same people remain upon the earth to convey to all nations whither they have been scattered, together with the progress of religion, the miracles and predictions which render it unshaken.

Tit. Liv. lib. xlix. c. 29. Varr. lib. de cult. Deor. ap. Aug. de Civ. vii. 3.

When Jesus Christ came, and when, sent by his Father to fulfil the promises of the law, he confirmed his mission, and that of his disciples, by new miracles; these were written with the same exactness. The records of them were published to all the earth; the circumstances of time, persons, and places, rendered the inquiry easy to whosoever was solicitous about his salvation. The world informed itself, the world believed, and any one, who hath ever so little considered the ancient monuments of the church, must confess,

that never was there an affair examined with more deliberation and knowledge.

But in the affinity the books of the two testaments have to each other, there is one difference to be considered, which is, that the books of the ancient people were composed at different times. Some are the times of Moses, some those of Joshua and the Judges, some those of the Kings, some those wherein the people were brought out of Egypt, and received the law, some those wherein they conquered the promised land, some those wherein they were, by visible miracles, re-established in it. To convince the incredulity of a people wholly addicted to its senses, God took a long series of ages, wherein he distributed his miracles and his prophets, that so he might frequently renew the sensible proofs whereby he attested his sacred truths. In the New Testament he followed another method. He will no more reveal any thing new to his church after Jesus Christ. In him is perfection and fulness; and all the divine books composed in the new covenant were written in the time of the apostles.

That is to say, that the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of those whom Jesus Christ himself was pleased to make choice of as witnesses of his resurrection, was sufficient for the Christian church. Whatever came afterward might edify her, but she regarded nothing as purely inspired by God, but what the apostles wrote, or what they confirmed by their authority.

But in this difference which is found between the books of the two Testaments, God hath always observed that admirable order, of causing things to be written at the time they happened, or when the memory of them was fresh. And so those that knew them wrote them; those that knew them received the books which bore witness of them: both left them to their descendants as a precious inheritance, and pious posterity hath preserved them.

Thus was formed the body of the holy Scriptures, as well of the Old as of the New Testament: Scrip-

tures which, from their original, were looked upon as true in every particular, as given by God himself, and which were therefore preserved with so much religion, that it was believed none could, without the highest impiety, alter a single letter of them.

And thus have they been transmitted to us, ever holy, sacred, inviolable; the one preserved by the constant tradition of the Jewish nation, and the other by the tradition of the Christian people, so much the more certain, that it hath been confirmed by the blood and martyrdom as well of those who wrote the divine books, as of those who received them.

St. Augustine, and the other fathers, ask upon what authority we ascribe profane books to certain times and authors? Every one immediately answers, that books are distinguished by the different relations they have to the laws, customs, histories of a certain time, by the very style, which bears stamped upon it the character of particular ages and authors; over and above all that, by the public testimony and constant tradition. All these things concur to establish the divine books, to distinguish their times, to ascertain their authors; and the more religious care there has been taken to preserve them entire, the more is the tradition that preserves them to us incontestible. Aug. cont. Faust. xi. 2. xxxii. 21. xxxiii. 6.

And so hath it ever been acknowledged, not only by the Orthodox, but also by heretics, and even Infidels. Moses hath ever passed in all the East, and afterwards in all the world, for the law-giver of the Jews, and author of the books they ascribe to him. The Samaritans, who received them from the ten separated tribes, have preserved them as religiously as the Jews. You have seen both their tradition and history. Iren. i, 2, 17. Tertul. adv. Marc. iv. 1, 4 & Aug. de utilit. cred 3. 17. cont. Faust. Manic. xxii. 79. xxviii. 4. xxxii. xxxiii.

Two so opposite nations took them not from each other, but both received them from their common origin in the times of Solomon and David. The ancient Hebrew characters, which the Samaritans still retain, sufficiently demonstrate that they followed not Cont. adv. leg. & Porph. i. 29. &c.

Ezra who changed them. Thus the Pentateuch of the Samaritans, and that of the Jews, are two complete originals, independent of each other. The perfect conformity to be seen in the substance of the two texts, proves the candour of both nations. They are faithful witnesses, which agree without conclusion, or to say better, which agree in spite of their enmities, and whom immemorial tradition on both sides hath alone united in the same mind.

Those therefore who have thought fit to say, though without any manner of reason, that those books being lost or having never been, were recovered, or composed anew, or altered by Ezra; besides that, they are confuted by Ezra himself, as we had occasion to take notice in the course of his history, they are so likewise by the Pentateuch, which is to be found even at this day in the hands of the Samaritans, such as it was read in the primitive ages, by Eusebius of Cesarea, St. Jerom, and other ecclesiastical writers; such as that people had preserved it from their original: and so weak a sect seems to subsist so long for no other reason but to bear this testimony to the antiquity of Moses.

The authors who wrote the four Gospels receive a testimony no less infallible, from the unanimous consent of the faithful, of the heathens, and of the heretics. That great numbers of different nations, who received and translated those divine books as soon as they were finished, do all agree about their date and authors. The heathens contradicted not this tradition. Neither Celsus who attacked those sacred books almost at the beginning of Christianity, nor Julian the apostate, though he can be charged with neither ignorance nor omission of any thing that could possibly hurt their credit; nor any other heathen ever suspected their being spurious: on the contrary, all gave them the same authors as the Christians. The heretics, though confounded by the authority of those books, did not dare to say that they were not the genuine

compositions of our Lord's disciples. There were however, some of those heretics, who had seen the beginnings of the Church, and before whose eyes the books of the Gospel were written. So the fraud, could there have been any, would have been too closely detected, to have had any chance for success. 'Tis true, that after the apostles, and when the church was now extended all over the earth, Marcion and Manes, certainly the most daring and ignorant of all heretics, notwithstanding the tradition directly come from the apostles, continued by their disciples, and by the bishops to whom they had left their chair, and the care of the people, and unanimously received by the whole Christian church, had the boldness to assert, that three of the Gospels were spurious; and that that of St. Luke which they preferred to the rest, nobody knows why, as it had come by no other channel, had been falsified. But what proofs did they bring for their assertions? None but mere visionary dreams, not one positive matter of fact. The only reason they gave was, that what was contrary to their sentiments, must necessarily have been invented by others than the apostles, and all the proofs they urged were the very opinions disputed by them: opinions besides so extravagant, and so manifestly preposterous, that it is still amazing how they could ever enter into the human mind. But surely, to tax the fidelity of the church, they must have had in their hands some originals different from hers, or some demonstrative proof. When challenged, both they and their disciples, to produce them, they were struck dumb, and left by their silence an undoubted proof, that in the second age of christianity, wherein they wrote, there was not so much as a symptom of falsity, nor the smallest conjecture that could be opposed to the tradition of the church. Gen. Tertul. Aug. loc cit.

What shall I say of the agreement of the books of scripture, and of the admirable testimony all the times of the people of God bear to one another? The times of the second temple presuppose those of the first,

and carry us back to Solomon. Peace came only by wars, and the conquests of the people of God bring us up to the Judges, to Joshua, and to the coming out of Egypt. By beholding a whole people go out of a kingdom, wherein they were strangers, we call to mind how they came into it. The twelve patriarchs immediately appear, and a people who never considered itself but as one family, conducts us naturally to Abraham, who was the stock of it. Was this people wiser and less prone to idolatry after their return from Babylon? It was the natural effect of a sore chastisement, which its former offences had drawn upon it. If this people glories in having seen, for many ages, miracles which other nations never saw, it may likewise glory in having had the knowledge of God, which no other nation was blessed with.

What would we have the circumcision, and the feast of tabernacles, the passover, and the other feasts celebrated in the nation time immemorial, to signify, if not the things we find specified in the book of Moses? That a people distinguished from all others by so peculiar religion and manners, preserving from its origin, upon the principle of the creation, and faith of providence, so coherent and exalted a doctrine, so lively a remembrance of a long train of facts so necessarily linked together, ceremonies so regular, and customs so general; that such a people should have been without a history to point out their origin, and without a law to prescribe their customs during a thousand years that they were in the body of a state; and that Ezra should have been the first to give them all at once, under the name of Moses, together with the history of their antiquities, the law which formed their manners, when that people become captive saw their ancient monarchy utterly overthrown: what more incredible fiction could possibly have been invented? And can we give credit to it, without joining ignorance to blasphemy?

To lose such a law, when it hath once been received, a people must either be extirpated, or by various vicissitudes must come to have but a confused notion of their origin, religion and customs. If this misfortune happened to the Jews, and if the law so well known under Zedekiah was lost threescore years after, notwithstanding the care of an Ezekiel, a Jeremiah, a Baruch, a Daniel, not to reckon others, and at the very time that law had its martyrs, as the persecutions of Daniel and the three Children evince; if, I say that holy law was lost in so short a time, and remained so profoundly forgot, that Ezra might restore it as he pleased, this was not the only book he had to frame; he had at the same time to compose all the prophets old and new, that is, those who had written both before and after the captivity; those whom the people had seen write, as well as those whose memory they preserved; and not only the prophets, but also the books of Solomon, the psalms of David, and all the historical books, as there will hardly be found in the whole history one single considerable fact, or in all the other books one single chapter, which, taken separate from Moses, such as we have him, can subsist a moment. Every thing speaks of Moses, every thing is founded upon Moses, and it ought to be so, seeing Moses, and his law, and the history he wrote, were in fact the whole foundation of public and private conduct in the Jewish nation. It was indeed a marvellous attempt in Ezra, and quite a new thing in the world to make so many men of different characters and style, speak at the same time with Moses, and each in a uniform manner, and always like to itself; and all at once to make a whole nation believe that those were the ancient books they had ever revered, and the new ones they had just seen composed; as if they had never heard of any thing in their lives, and as if the knowledge of the present time as well as that of the past were all of a sudden abolished. Such are the prodigies we must swallow down, when we

will not believe the miracles of the Almighty, nor receive the testimony whereby it is certain, that it was said by a whole great people, that they had seen them with their eyes.

But if that people returned from Babylon into the land of their fathers, so new, and so ignorant that they hardly remembered they had been; so as to have received without inquiry whatever Ezra thought fit to give them; how then do we see in the book that Ezra wrote, and in that of Nehemiah his cotemporary all that is there said of the divine books: With what face do Ezra and Nehemiah dare to speak of the law of Moses in so many places, and that publicly, as of a thing known to every body, and which every body had in their hands? How is it that we see the whole people act voluntarily in consequence of this law, as having it ever before them? But how is it said at the same time, and upon the return of the people, that all the people admired the accomplishment of Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the seventy years captivity? That Jeremiah, whom Ezra had just forged with all the other prophets, how did he find credit thus all of a sudden? by what new artifice was it possible to persuade a whole nation, and even the old men who had seen that prophet, that they had always expected the miraculous deliverance he had announced to them in his writings? But all this shall be supposed: Ezra and Nehemiah shall not have written the history of their own time; some other shall have done it in their name, and those who have coined all the other books of the Old Testament shall have been so favoured by posterity, that other counterfeits shall have made them the real authors, in order to give credit to their imposture.

Ezra iii. vii. ix. x.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1.

Men will doubtless be ashamed of so many wild absurdities; and instead of saying that Ezra produced all at once so many books, so distinct from one another by the characters of style and time, they will perhaps say they may have foisted into them those mir-

acles and predictions that gain them the reputation of divine: an error still more palpable than the former, as those predictions and miracles are so interspersed through all the books, are so forcibly inculcated, and so often repeated, with so many different turns, and so vast a variety of emphatical figures; in a word, do so constitute the whole body of them, that one must never have so much as opened those sacred books, not to see that it were easier to new-mould them entirely, than to insert the things which unbelievers are so sorry to find in them. But should we even grant them all they ask, the miraculous and divine are so much the substance of those books, that some strains of that kind would still be found, in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary. Let Ezra, if they will, have added afterwards predictions of things that had already come to pass in his time: Who shall have added those since accomplished, which you have seen in so great numbers? God may have perhaps bestowed the gift of prophecy upon Ezra, that Ezra's imposture might be the more probable; and we will rather have a counterfeit to be a prophet, than Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Daniel: Or else every age shall have brought forth a successful counterfeit, whom the whole people shall have believed; and new impostors, out of a wonderful zeal for religion, shall have been continually adding to the divine books, even after the canon hath been closed, after they have been dispersed with the Jews all over the earth, and translated into so many foreign languages. Would not this way of establishing religion have been most effectually to sap its foundation? Does then a whole people so easily allow to be altered what it believes divine, whether that belief is founded on reason or error? Can any one hope to persuade the christians, or even the Turks, to add a single chapter to the Gospel or Alcoran? But the Jews perhaps were more tractable than other people, or less religious in preserving their sacred books! What monstrous opinions must come into the mind, when we will shake off the

yoke of divine authority, and square our sentiments, as well as manners only by erring reason?

Let it not be said that the discussion of these points is troublesome: For though it were so, we ought either to submit to the authority of the church and tradition of so many ages, or push the inquiry to the utmost, and not to think to get rid of it by saying, that it requires more than we are willing to bestow upon our salvation. But indeed, without taking the labour to turn over all the books of the two testaments, we need only look into the book of Psalms, where are collected so many ancient songs of the people of God, to see, in the divinest poetry that ever was, immortal monuments of the history of Moses, of that of the Judges, and of that of the kings, imprinted by tune and measure upon the memory of men. And for the New-Testament, Saint Paul's epistles alone, so lively, so original, so expressive of the time, affairs, and commotions that then were, and in fine, of so peculiar a style; those epistles, I say, received by the churches, to whom they were addressed, and from thence communicated to the other churches, might suffice to convince well disposed minds, that every thing is genuine and original in the scriptures which the apostles have left us.

So likewise do they support each other with an invincible power. The Acts of the Apostles do but continue the gospel, their epistles necessarily presuppose it. But that all may be agreed, the Acts, epistles and gospels do every where appeal to the ancient books of the Jews. Saint Paul and the other apostles are continually urging what *Moses said*, what he *wrote*, what the prophets said and wrote after Moses. Jesus Christ summons *the law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms*, as witnesses, who all depose to the same truth. If he means to expound his mysteries, he *begins at Moses and the prophets*, and when he tells the Jews that *Moses wrote of him*, he lays as a foundation what

Acts iii. 22. vii. 32, &c. Rom. x. 5. 19.

Luke xxiv. 44.

Ibid. 27. John v. 46. 47.

was most undoubted among them, and carries them back to the very source of their tradition.

Let us see however what is opposed to so confessed an authority, and to the consent of so many ages: for since in our days men have been so daring as to publish in all sort of languages books against the scripture, we must not dissemble what they say to decry its antiquities. What then do they say to authorize the spuriousness of the Pentateuch, and what can they object to a tradition of three thousand years standing, supported by its own strength and by constant course of things? Nothing coherent, nothing positive, nothing important: some cavails about numbers, places, or names, and such observations as in any other matter would at most be deemed vain curiosities, incapable of striking at the root of things, are here urged as decisive of the most serious affair that ever was in question.

There are, say they, difficulties in the story of scripture. There are doubtless, which would not be there, were the book less ancient, or had it been trumped up, as some are bold enough to affirm, by a cunning artful man; and had people been less religious in giving it such as they got it, and taken the liberty to correct what caused them any trouble. There are difficulties arising from a length of time, when places have changed their names or state; when dates are forgot; when genealogies are no longer known; when there is no remedy for faults that the smallest negligence in a copy so easily introduces into such things, or when facts, have escaped men's memories, leave darkness on some part of the history. But after all, is this obscurity in the thread itself, or in the essential parts? by no means: every thing there is coherent; and what remains obscure serves only to show in the holy books a more venerable antiquity.

But there are alterations in the text; the ancient versions do not agree; the Hebrew in several places is different from itself; and the text of the Samaritans

besides the word they are accused of having changed
Deut. xxvii. 4 expressly in favour of their temple of Gerizim, differs also in other places from that of the Jews. And what shall we conclude from thence? That the Jews or Ezra, have forged the Pentateuch at their return from captivity? It is just the contrary we should conclude. The differences of the Samaritans serve only to confirm what we have already established, that their text is independent of that of the Jews. It cannot be imagined that those schismatics took any thing from the Jews, or from Ezra; so far from that we have seen on the contrary, that it was purely out of spite to the Jews and to Ezra, and out of spite to both first and second temple, that they hatched their chimera of Gerizim. Who does not see then that they would sooner have accused the impostures of the Jews, than followed them? Those rebels, who despised Ezra and all the prophets of the Jews, with their temple, and Solomon who had built it, as well as David who had assigned its place; what did they regard in their Pentateuch, if not an antiquity superior not only to that of Ezra and the prophets, but even to that of Solomon and David; in a word, the antiquity of Moses, in which the two nations agree? How indisputable therefore is the authority of Moses and the Pentateuch, which all objections do but corroborate.

But after all, whence comes that variety of Texts and Versions? Whence comes it indeed, but from the antiquity of the book itself, which has past through the hands of so many transcribers, for so many ages, that the language in which it is written hath ceased to be common? But laying aside vain disputes, let us pluck up the difficulty by the roots. Tell me if it is not allowed, that from all the versions, and from any text whatever, there will still result the same laws, the same miracles, the same predictions, the same course of history, the same body of doctrine, and in short the same substance. What harm after this do the diversities of texts? What needed we more than this un-

alterable stock of sacred books, and what further could we require of divine Providence? And as for the versions, is it a mark of spuriousness or innovation, that the language of Scripture is so ancient that we have lost its delicacies, and that we find ourselves unable to render all its elegance or strength with the utmost strictness? Is not this rather a proof of the greatest antiquity? And if people will insist upon trifles, I would gladly ask, whether of so many places where there may be some difficulty, any one has ever been settled by reasoning or conjecture? The world hath adhered to the faith of the copies, and as tradition hath never suffered a possibility of sound doctrine's being altered, it hath judged, that other faults, if any such remained, would serve only to prove, that none have ever innovated any thing out of their own head.

But lastly, and here lies the stress of the objection; are there not some things added in the text of Moses, and how comes it to pass that we find his death at the end of the book which is ascribed to him? What wonder is it, that those who have continued his history have added his happy end to the rest of his actions, in order to make one body of the whole? As for other additions, let us see what they are. Is there any new law or ceremony, any doctrine, miracle, or prediction? None are so much as dreamed of; there is not the smallest surmise, nor the smallest sign of any; this had been to add to the work of God: the law had forbid it, and horrid had been the scandal it would have occasioned. What then? men have perhaps continued a genealogy begun; they have perhaps explained the name of a town changed by time; on occasion of the manna with which the people were fed forty years, they may have marked the time when that heavenly food ceased, and this fact, written afterward in another book, may have remained, by way of remark, in that of Moses, as an allowed and public fact, whereof all the people were witnesses: four or

Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32.

Jos. v. 12. Exod. xvi. 35.

five such remarks made by Joshua, Samuel, or some other prophet of like antiquity, because they related only to notorious facts, and facts wherein there was evidently no manner of difficulty, may naturally have passed into the text, and the same tradition may have brought them to us with the rest; and therefore all shall immediately be lost? Ezra shall be accused as a falsifier, though the Samaritan text, where those remarks are found, shows us, that they have an antiquity, not only beyond Ezra, but beyond the schism of the ten tribes: No matter, all must fall upon Ezra. If those remarks were of an older date, the Pentateuch would be also more ancient than it ought; and we could not sufficiently revere the antiquity of a book, the very notes of which should be of so long a standing. Therefore Ezra shall have done every thing: Ezra shall have forgot that he was making Moses speak, and shall have caused him to write so grossly, as already come to pass, what happened not till after his death. A whole work shall be convicted of spuriousness from this single passage; the authority of so many ages, and the public testimony, shall no longer avail him any thing; as if, on the contrary, it were not evident, that those remarks, which the cavilers lay hold of, are a fresh proof of the sincerity and fidelity, not only of those who made them, but also of those who transcribed them. Was ever the authority, not to say, of a divine book, but of any book whatever, judged of from so slight arguments? But the matter is, the Scripture is a book offensive to mankind, it would oblige men to submit their understanding to God, and to curb their unruly passions: it therefore must needs perish, and must at any rate fall a sacrifice to libertinism.

Moreover, do not imagine that impiety runs unnecessarily into all the absurdities you have seen. If, contrary to the testimony of mankind, and contrary to all the rules of right reason, it exerts itself to deprive the Pentateuch and Prophecies of their ever acknow-

ledged authors, and to controvert their dates; it is because the dates are every thing in the affair, for two reasons: first, because books full of so many miraculous facts, which are there seen clothed with their most particular circumstances, and advanced not only as public, but even as present, could they have been confuted, would have carried their condemnation along with them, and instead of supporting themselves by their own weight, they would have fallen of themselves long ago: secondly, because their dates being once fixed, we can no longer efface the infallible mark of divine inspiration which they bear stamped upon them, in the great number and long series of memorable predictions, with which we find them replete.

'Tis in order to evade these miracles and predictions, that the profane have fallen into all the absurdities that have surprized you. But let them not think to escape from God; He hath reserved for his Scripture a mark of divinity that is proof to all attacks; and this is the affinity of the two Testaments. 'Tis undisputed, at least, that all the Old Testament was written before the New. There is here no new Ezra to have persuaded the Jews to contrive or falsify their Scripture in favour of the Christians whom they persecuted. There needs no more. The affinity of the two Testaments proves each of them divine. They have both the same design, and both the same consequence: the one prepares the way to perfection, which the other plainly exhibits: the one lays the foundation, and the other finishes the structure: in a word, the one foretels what the other shows accomplished.

Thus all times are united, and an eternal scheme of divine providence is revealed to us. The tradition of the Jews, and that of the Christians, make together but one and the same course of religion, and the Scriptures of the two Testaments make therefore but one and the same body, and one and the same book.

And because the discussion of the particular predictions, though in itself full of light, depends greatly on facts that every body cannot equally follow, God hath made choice of some, which he hath rendered sensible to the most ignorant. Those eminent, those shining facts, whereof the whole world is witness, are, Sir, the facts which I have hitherto endeavoured to trace with you; namely, the desolation of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles, which happened together, and both precisely at the time that the Gospel was preached, and Jesus Christ appeared.

These three particulars united in the order of time, were still much more so in the order of God's counsels. You have seen them go on together in the ancient prophecies; but Jesus Christ, the faithful interpreter of the prophecies, and of the will of his Father, hath still better expounded that connexion in his Gospel. He doth it in the parable of the vineyard, so familiar to the prophets. The householder had planted that vineyard, that is, true religion, founded upon his covenant; and let it out to husbandmen, that is, to the Jews. In order to receive the fruits of it, he sends at sundry times his servants, who are the prophets. Those wicked husbandmen put them to death. His goodness prompts him to send to them at last his own son. Him they handle still worse than the servants. At last he takes his vineyard from them, and gives it to other husbandmen: he takes from them the grace of his covenant, in order to give it to the Gentiles.

Matth. xxi. 33.

These three particulars were therefore to concur, the sending of the Son of God the reprobation of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles. There needeth no more comment on the parable, than the event hath interpreted.

You have seen that the Jews confess, that the kingdom of Judah, and the state of their republic, began to decline in the days of Herod, and when Jesus Christ came into the world. But if the alterations

they made in the law of God, drew upon them so visible a decay of their power, their utter desolation, which endures to this day, must have been the punishment of a greater crime.

That crime is visibly their ingratitude to their Messiah, who came to instruct and deliver them. So likewise ever since that time hath a yoke of iron been upon their necks; and they doubtless would sink under it, did not God preserve them to turn one day to the Messiah whom they have crucified.

Behold then one positive and public fact, the total overthrow of the Jewish state in the time of Jesus Christ. The conversion of the Gentiles, which was to happen in the same period, is no less ascertained. At the same time that the ancient worship is destroyed in Jerusalem with the temple, idolatry is attacked on all sides; and nations, which for so many thousand years had forgot their Creator, rouse themselves from so long a lethargy.

And that every thing may agree, the spiritual promises are unfolded by the preaching of the gospel, at the time that the Jewish people, who had received only temporal ones, manifestly reprobated for their incredulity, and captive all over the earth, have no more human greatness to expect. Then heaven is promised to those who suffer for righteousness' sake, the mysteries of a future state are preached, and true happiness is exhibited far from that abode, where death reigns, where sin and all evils abound.

If we discover not here a plan ever consistent, and ever continued, if we see not one and the same order of the counsels of God, who prepares from the beginning of the world, what he finishes in the fulness of time, and who, under various states, but with an ever constant succession, perpetuates, in the sight of the whole world, the holy society by whom he will be served; we deserve to see nothing, but to be delivered up to our own hardness of heart, as the justest and most rigorous of all punishments.

And that this continual progress of the people of God might be evident to the most undiscerning, God renders it sensible, nay palpable, by facts whereof no man can be ignorant, if he does not wilfully shut his eyes to the truth. The Messiah is expected by the Hebrews; he comes and calls the Gentiles, as had been foretold of him. The people who acknowledge him as come, is incorporated with the people who expected him, without there being between them the least moment's interruption: this people is spread abroad over all the earth: the Gentiles are continually coming; and that church, which Jesus Christ built upon a rock, maugre all the efforts of hell, hath never been prevailed against.

What consolation to the children of God! but what conviction of the truth, when we see, that from him who so worthily fills at this day the first see of the church, we ascend, without interruption, to St. Peter, appointed by Jesus Christ the chief of the apostles: from whence, by resuming the high priests that served under the law, we go up to Aaron and Moses: thence to the patriarchs; and to the origin of the world? what progression, what tradition, what wonderful concatenation! If our mind, naturally uncertain, and become by its uncertainties the sport of its own reasonings, hath need in points that regard salvation, to be fixed and determined by some certain authority; what greater authority can there be than that of the Catholic church, which centres in itself all the authority of past ages, and the ancient traditions of mankind up to their first original?

Thus the society which Jesus Christ, expected through all former ages, at last founded upon the rock, and wherein the apostles and their successors are, by his orders, to preside, justifies itself by its own series, and bears in its eternal duration the mark of the hand of God.

It is therefore this succession, that no heresy, no sect, no other society but God's church alone hath

ever been able to pretend to. False religions have made shift to imitate the church in a great many things, and especially by saying, like her, that it was God who founded them; but this assertion in their mouth is but an empty boast. For if God created mankind, if creating them in his own image, he never disdained to teach them the means of serving and pleasing him; whatever sect doth not show its succession from the beginning of the world, is not of God.

Here fall down at the feet of the church, all the societies and sects, which men have established within or without christianity. For instance, the false prophet of the Arabians might well call himself the Sent of God; and after deceiving nations most supremely ignorant, he might take advantage of the divisions in his neighbourhood, to extend, by force of arms, a religion wholly sensual. But he neither dared to pretend that he had been expected, nor indeed could he claim, either to his person, or to his religion, any real or apparent connexion with past ages. The expedient he fell upon to evade this, was new. Lest people should incline to search the scriptures of the Christians for vouchers of his mission, like those which Jesus Christ found in the scriptures of the Jews, he gave it out, that both Christians and Jews had falsified all their books. His ignorant followers took his word for it, six hundred years after Jesus Christ; and he proclaimed himself, not only without any previous testimony, but even without either himself or his adherents daring to pretend, or to promise, any sensible miracle that might have authorized his mission. In like manner the Heresiarchs, who founded new sects among the Christians, might well render faith easier, by denying the mysteries that surpass the senses. They might well dazzle men by their eloquence, and by a show of piety, move them by their passions, engage them by their interests, allure them by novelty and libertinism, whether of the mind, or even of the senses;

in a word, they might easily either deceive themselves or others, for nothing is more natural to man: but besides that, they could not even boast of having wrought any one miracle in public, nor reduce their religion to positive facts whereof their followers were eye-witnesses; there is also one unlucky circumstance for them, that they have never been able to palliate; namely that of their newness. It will ever be visible to the eyes of the whole world, that they and the sect they have established have broke off from that great body and ancient church which Jesus Christ founded, where the apostles and their successors held the first places in which all sects have found them established. The very moment of the separation will always be so noted, that the heretics themselves shall not be able to disown it, and shall not dare so much as to attempt to derive themselves from the source, by a series that never hath known interruption. This is the inevitable weakness of all the sects that men have set up. None can change past ages, nor give themselves predecessors, or make themselves to have found them in possession. The Catholic church alone fills all preceding ages with a series that cannot be disputed her. The law is the forerunner of the gospel; the succession of Moses and the patriarchs makes but one and the same series with that of Jesus Christ: to be expected, to come, to be acknowledged by a posterity as lasting as the world; this is the character of the Messiah in whom we believe: "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." Heb. xiii. 8.

Thus, besides the advantage the church of Christ hath, of being alone founded upon miraculous and divine facts, that were written openly, and without fear of being controverted, at the very time they happened; there is also, in favour of such as did not live in those times, an everlasting miracle, which confirms the truth of all the rest; and that is, the progress of religion ever victorious over the errors that have endeavoured to destroy it. To this you may likewise

add another progress; namely, the visible progress of a continual chastisement on the Jews, who have not received the Christ promised to their fathers.

They continue nevertheless to expect him, and their ever disappointed expectation makes a part of their punishment. They look for him, and show by so doing that he hath been ever looked for. Condemned by their own books, they ascertain the truth of religion; they bear, so to speak, its whole progress written upon their forehead: at one view we see what they have been, why they are as we see them, and for what they are reserved.

Thus four or five authentic facts, and clearer than the light of the sun, do manifest our religion as ancient as the world. They consequently demonstrate that it hath no other author than Him who laid the foundations of the universe, who holding all things in the hollow of his hand, was alone able to commence and carry on a design that takes in all ages.

We must therefore no longer wonder, as we usually do, that God proposeth to our belief so many things so worthy of him, and at the same time impenetrable to human understanding. But we should rather wonder, that, the faith being built upon so sure and so manifest an authority, there should still remain any blind and incredulous persons in the world.

Our disorderly passions, our attachment to our senses, and our unconquerable pride, are the cause of it: we choose rather to run all hazards, than to put a constraint upon ourselves; we choose rather to continue in our ignorance, than to confess it; we choose rather to gratify a vain curiosity, and to indulge in our untoward minds the liberty of thinking what we please, than to bend under the yoke of divine authority.

Hence comes it to pass that there are so many unbelievers, and God permits it to be so for the instruction of his children: without the blind, without the savage, without the infidels, that remain in the very bosom of christianity, we should not be sufficiently sen-

sible of the deep corruption of our nature, nor of the abyss of misery whence Jesus Christ hath delivered us. If his sacred truth were not gainsayed, we should not see the miracle that makes it stand fast amidst so much contradiction, and we should at length forget that by grace we are saved. Now the incredulity of some humbleth others; and the rebels, who oppose the designs of God, makes the power conspicuous, whereby independently of any thing else, he accomplisheth the promises he hath made to his church.

Why then do we delay our submission? Do we wait till God shall work new miracles; till he render them of none effect by continuing them; till he accustom our eyes to them, as they are to the course of the sun and all the other wonders of nature? or do we wait till the profane and the perverse be silent; till good men and libertines bear equal testimony to the truth; till every body with one accord prefer it to his passion, and till false learning, which novelty alone makes admired, cease to delude mankind? Is it not enough that we see none can combat religion without betraying by prodigious extravagances, the disorder of their reason, and that they no longer hold out but through presumption or ignorance? shall not the church, victorious over ages and errors, be able to vanquish in our minds the pitiful arguments brought against her; and shall not the divine promise, which we daily see accomplished in her, have power to exalt us above the senses?

And let none pretend to tell us that those promises still remain in suspense, and that as they extend to the end of the world, it shall only be at the end of the world that we shall be able to boast of having seen their accomplishment. For on the contrary, what is past assures us of what is to come. So many ancient predictions, so visibly accomplished, evince to us that there is nothing that shall not be accomplished; and that the church, against which the gates of hell, according to the promise of the Son of God, never can

prevail, shall stand fast till the consummation of all things, since Jesus Christ, who is true in every thing, hath set no other limits to her duration.

The same promises secure to us the future life. God, who hath shown himself so faithful in accomplishing what concerns this world, will be no less so in accomplishing what concerns the next, for which all we see is but a preparation; and the church shall be ever immoveable and invincible upon earth, until, her children being gathered in, she be transported entire into heaven, which is her true dwelling-place.

As for those who shall be excluded from that heavenly city, an eternal vengeance is reserved for them; and after having lost through their own fault a blissful eternity, nothing shall remain to them but an eternity of wo.

Thus the counsels of God terminate in an immutable state; his promises and threatenings are equally certain; and what he executes in time, assures what he commands us to hope or to fear in eternity.

This is what you learn from the progression of religion compendiously laid before you. By time it conducts you to eternity. You see a constant order in all the designs of God, and a visible mark of his power in the perpetual duration of his people. You find that the church hath an everlasting stock from which none can separate without being lost; and that those who being united to this root, bring forth works worthy of their faith, secure to themselves eternal life.

Study then, Sir, but with attention study this progress of the church, which so clearly ascertains to you all the promises of God. Whatever breaks this chain, whatever goes out of this progression, whatever starts up of itself, and comes not in virtue of the promises made to the church from the beginning of the world, ought to excite your horror. Employ all your powers to recal into this unity whatever hath deviated from it, and to cause men to hearken to the church whereby the Holy Ghost pronounceth its oracles.

The glory of your ancestors is not only never to have forsaken her, but to have ever supported her, and to have thereby merited to be called her eldest sons, which is doubtless the most glorious of all their titles.

I need not speak to you of Clovis, Charlemagne, or Saint Lewis. Consider only the time in which you live, and of what father, God hath caused you to be born. A king so great in every thing, distinguishes himself more by his faith than by his other admirable qualities. He protects religion, both at home and abroad, and to the uttermost ends of the world. His laws are one of the strongest bulwarks of the church. His authority revered as much for his personal merit, as for the majesty of his sceptre, never better supports itself, than when it defends the cause of God. Blasphemy is no more to be heard; impiety trembles before him: He is the king pointed at by Solomon, Prov. xx. 8. "who scattereth away all evil with his eyes." If he attacks heresy by so many ways, and even more than did ever his predecessors, it is not that he fears for his throne; every thing is quiet under his feet, and his arms are dreaded over the whole earth: but it is that he loves his people, and that being exalted by the hand of God to a power that nothing in the universe can equal, he knows no more glorious use of it than to make it subservient to the healing of the wounds of the church.

Imitate, then, Sir, so noble a pattern, and hand it down to your descendants. Recommend to their care the church even more than that great empire, which your ancestors have governed for so many ages. Let your august house, the first in dignity that is in the world, be the first in maintaining the rights of God, and extending through the universe the reign of Jesus Christ, who makes it to reign with so much glory.

PART III.

The Progression of Empires.

ALTHOUGH there be nothing comparable to that progression of the true church, which I have represented to you, the progression of Empires, which I come now, Sir, to set before your eyes, is of no less consequence to great princes like you.

The revolutions of empires are ordered by providence, and serve to humble the spirit of princes.

In the first place, those empires have for the most part a necessary connexion with the people of God. God made use of the Assyrians and Babylonians, to chastise that people; of the Persians, to restore them; of Alexander and his first successors to protect them; of Antiochus Illustris and his successors, to exercise them; of the Romans to support their liberty against the kings of Syria, who breathed nothing but their destruction. The Jews continued until Jesus Christ under the power of the same Romans. When they disowned and crucified him, those same Romans lent an unwitting hand to the divine vengeance, and exterminated that ungrateful people. God who had resolved to gather at the same time the new people, from among all nations, did first unite both seas and land under the same empire. The commerce of many different nations, formerly strangers to one another, and afterwards united under the Roman dominion, was one of the most powerful means that providence made use of for the propagation of the gospel. If the same Roman empire persecuted for the space of three hundred years that new people, which was growing on all hands within its compass, that persecution confirmed the Christian church, and made her glory shine forth conspicuous together with her faith and patience. At last the Roman empire yielded; and having found something more invincible than itself, received peaceably into its bosom that church, against which it had

waged so long and so cruel a war. The emperors now employed their whole power to bring every thing under the obedience of the church, and Rome became the head of the spiritual empire which Jesus Christ meant to extend over the whole earth.

When the time was come that the Roman power must fall, and that that great empire, which had vainly promised itself eternity, was to undergo the fate of all others, Rome, though become a prey to barbarians, yet by her religion preserved her ancient majesty. The nations that invaded the Roman empire, learned by degrees the Christian piety, which humanized their barbariousness; and their kings putting themselves, each in his respective nation, in the place of the emperors, found none of their titles more glorious than that of protectors of the church.

But I must here discover to you the secret judgments of God upon the Roman empire, and upon Rome herself: a mystery which the Holy Spirit revealed to St. John, and which that great Man, Apostle, Evangelist, and Prophet, hath unfolded in the Apocalypse. Rome who was grown old in the worship of idols, had extreme difficulty to get rid of them, even under the Christian emperors; and the senate made it a point of honour to defend the gods of Romulus, to which it attributed all the victories of the ancient republic. The emperors were pestered with deputations from that great body, which required the restoration of its idols, and which thought that to turn away Rome from her old superstitions was, to offer an indignity to the Roman name. Thus that assembly composed of the choice of the empire, and an immense multitude of people, among whom were almost all the powerful men of Rome, could neither be drawn from their errors by the preaching of the gospel, nor by so visible an accomplishment of the ancient prophecies, nor yet by the conversion of almost all the rest of Europe, nor, in fine, by that of the princes, all whose decrees ran in favour of christianity. On

Zosim. iv. Or. Symm. ap. Amb. tom. v. lib. v. ep. 30. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 1.

the contrary, they continued to load with reproaches the church of Christ, which they charged also, after the example of their fathers, with all the misfortunes that befel the empire, ever ready to renew the persecutions, had they not been restrained by the emperors. In this condition were things in the fourth age of the church, and an hundred years after Constantine, when God at last called to mind the many bloody decrees of the senate against the faithful, and at the same time the furious outcries with which the whole Roman people, thirsting after christian blood, had so often made the amphitheatre ring. He delivered up therefore to the barbarians, that city *drunk with the blood of the martyrs*, as St. John speaks. God renewed upon her the terrible chastisements which he had inflicted on Babylon: Rome herself is called by that name. This new Babylon, a faithful copier of the old, like her, puffed up with her victories, exulting in her delights and her riches, polluted by her idolatries, and a persecutor of God's people, falls also like her by a mighty fall, and St. John sings her overthrow. The glory of her conquests, which she ascribed to her gods, is taken from her: she is a prey to barbarians, thrice, nay four times taken, plundered, sacked, and destroyed. The sword of the barbarians spares none but the Christians. Another Rome, wholly Christian, arises out of the ashes of the former; and it is only after the inundation of the barbarians, that we see Jesus Christ's victory completed over the Roman gods, which are not only destroyed but forgot. Rev. xvii. c. Ibid. xviii.

Thus it is that the empires of the world have ministered to religion, and to the preservation of the people of God: wherefore that same God, who caused the different states of his people to be foretold by his prophets, caused the succession of empires to be also predicted by them. You have seen the places where Nebuchadnezzar was pointed out as the person that was to come and punish the haughty nations, and especially the Jewish people for their ingratitude to

their Maker. You have heard Cyrus named two hundred years before his birth, as him who was to restore God's people, and to punish Babylon's pride. The destruction of Nineveh hath been no less clearly foretold. Daniel, in his admirable visions, hath made the empire of Babylon, that of the Medes and Persians, that of Alexander and the Grecians, pass away in a moment before you. The blasphemies and cruelties of Antiochus Illustris have been there prophesied, as well as the miraculous victories of God's people over that violent persecutor. We there see those famous empires fall one after another, and the new empire which Jesus Christ was to establish, is there described so expressly by its proper characters, that it is impossible to mistake it. It is the empire of the Saints of the Most High; the empire of the Son of Man; the empire that is to stand amidst the ruin of all others, and to which alone eternity is promised.

The judgments of God upon the greatest of all the empires of this world, that is, upon the Roman empire, have not been hid from us. You have just learned them from the mouth of St. John. Rome hath herself felt the hand of God, and hath been, as well as others, an example of his justice. But her lot was happier than that of other cities. Purged by her calamities from the remains of idolatry, she no longer stands but by Chistianity, which she dispenses to the whole world.

Thus have all the great empires that we have seen upon earth, concurred by different ways to the good of religion, and glory of God, as God himself hath declared by his prophets.

When you read so often in their writings, that kings shall flock into the church, and that they shall be protectors and nursing fathers of her; by these words you immediately understand the emperors and other Christian princes. And as your royal ancestors have signalized themselves above all others, in protecting and extending the church of God, I shall not stick to

assure you, that it is they who, of all kings, are most clearly foretold in those illustrious prophecies.

God therefore, who had a mind to make use of divers empires, to chastise or to exercise, to extend or protect his people, willing to make himself known for the author of so admirable a counsel, discovered the secret of it to his prophets, and made them foretell what He had resolved to execute. Wherefore, as the empires entered into the order of God's designs upon the people whom He hath chosen, the fortune of those empires stands announced by the same oracles of the Holy Spirit, which foretel the succession of the faithful people.

The more you shall accustom yourself to investigate great things, and to trace them to their principles, the more will you be filled with admiration of those councils of providence. It concerns you, early to form ideas of them, which will daily grow clearer in your mind, and to learn to refer human things to the order of that eternal wisdom whereon they depend.

God does not every day declare his will by his prophets, concerning the kings and monarchies, which he sets up or pulls down. But having done it so many times in those great empires we have been speaking of, He shows us by those famous instances, how He acts in all others, and teaches kings these two great fundamental truths; first, that it is He who forms kingdoms, in order to give them to whomsoever he will; and secondly, that he knows how to make them subservient, in his own good time and order, to the designs he hath upon his people.

This, Sir, ought to keep all princes in entire dependence, and make them ever attentive to God's commands, in order to lend a hand to what He purposes for his glory, upon every opportunity He presents to them.

But this progression of empires, even to consider it in a more human light, hath its great advantages; particularly to princes, seeing arrogance, the common

companion of so eminent a station, is so effectually humbled by such a spectacle. For if men learn moderation by seeing kings die, how much more will they be struck when they behold kingdoms themselves expire; and what can afford a more excellent lesson of the vanity of human grandeur?

Thus when you see pass away as it were in an instant, before your eyes, not to say kings and emperors, but those great empires, which have made the whole world tremble; when you see the Assyrians, both old and new, the Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, present themselves successively before you, and fall, so to speak, one upon another; the dreadful wreck makes you sensible that there is nothing solid among men, and that inconstancy and agitation are the proper portion of human things.

II. The revolutions of empires have particular causes which princes ought to study.

But, Sir, what will render this spectacle more useful and entertaining to you, is the reflection you will make, not only upon the rise and fall of empires, but also upon the causes of their advancement and decline.

For, Sir, the same God, who made the concatenation of the universe, and who, Almighty in himself, hath thought fit, for the sake of order, that all the parts of that great whole should have a mutual dependance on one another; that same God hath also thought fit that the course of human affairs should have its progression and proportions: I mean, that men and nations have had qualities proportioned to the rank for which they were designed; and that, except in a few extraordinary cases, in which God hath chosen that his hand should appear alone, there hath no great change happened, that hath not had its causes in preceding ages.

And as in all affairs there is that which prepares them, that which determines to undertake them, and that which makes them succeed, the true knowledge of history is to mark, in every period, those secret dispositions which have prepared the way for great chan-

ges, and the important conjunctures that have brought those changes to pass.

Indeed, it is not sufficient to look barely before one, that is, to consider those great events, that decide at once the fate of empires. He that will thoroughly understand human affairs, must trace them higher; and must observe the inclinations and manners, or to say every thing in one word, the character, as well of the ruling nations in general, as of the princes in particular, and in fine, of all the extraordinary men who, by the importance of the part they have had to act in the world, have contributed, right or wrong, to the change of states, and the fortune, good or bad, of the public.

I have endeavoured to prepare you for these important reflections in the first part of this treatise; you may have there observed the genius of the nations, and that of the great men who conducted them. The events, which have been of moment in their issue, have been exhibited, and in order to keep you attentive to the chain of the grand affairs of the world, which I wanted chiefly to make you understand, I have omitted a great many particular facts, whereof the consequences were not so considerable. But because our confining ourselves so close to the progression hath made us pass over a great many things so quickly that we could not make the reflections they deserved, you are now to apply yourself to them with a more particular attention, and to accustom your mind to investigate effects in their remotest causes.

You thereby, Sir, will learn what is so necessary for you to know, that though to consider only particular occurrences, fortune seems alone to decide the rise and fall of empires; yet to take in the whole, it happens with them as in play, where the most dexterous carries it at the long run.

And indeed, in that bloody game wherein nations have disputed for empire and power, that which hath foreseen the farthest, that which hath most diligently exerted itself, that which hath longest held out in fa-

tigues, and in fine, which hath best understood how to act the offensive or defensive part, according to occasion, hath had in the end the advantage, and made fortune itself subservient to its designs.

Be indefatigable therefore in examining the causes of great revolutions, as nothing will ever conduce so much to your instruction; but trace them especially in the progression of great empires, where the greatness of the events renders them more palpable.

III. The Scythians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians.

I shall not here count among great empires, that of Bacchus, or that of Hercules, those renowned conquerors of the Indies and the east. Their histories have no certainty, their conquests have no connexion; so we must leave them to be celebrated by the poets, who have made them the great subject of their fables.

Herod. l. i. Strab. lib. xv. Just. i. 2.

Neither shall I speak of the empires which Herodote's Madyes, who pretty much resembles the Indathyrses of Megasthenes, and the Tanaus of Justin, established for a while in the greater Asia. The Scythians, whom that prince carried to war, made rather incursions than conquests. It was only by accident, and by punishing the Cimmerians, that they entered Media, beat the Medes, and dispossessed them of that part of Asia where they had established their dominion. These new conquerors reigned there but eight and twenty years. Their impiety, avarice and brutality made them lose it; and Cyaxares son of Phraortes, from whom they had conquered it, expelled them. This he did rather by address than force: being reduced to a corner of his kingdom, which the victors had overlooked, or perhaps had not been able to force, he waited patiently till those brutal conquerors had excited the public hatred, and ruined themselves by the disorder of their government.

Lib. xv.

We find also in Strabo, who has taken it from the same Megasthenes, a Thearchon, king of Ethiopia: this must be the Tirhakah of scripture, whose arms were formidable in the time of Senacherib king of

2 Kings xix. 9.

Assyria. That prince penetrated as far as the pillars of Hercules, probably along the coast of Afric. But what should I say of a man of whom we find but a word here and there in historians, and whose dominion hath no manner of series.

The Ethiopians, whose king he was, were, according to Herodote, the handsomest and best made of all men. They had acute and strong parts, but took little pains to cultivate them, placing their confidence in their robust bodies and brawny arms. Their kings were elective, and they always raised the tallest and strongest to the throne. We may judge of their humour by an action which Herodote relates to us. When Cambyses sent to them, with insnaring views, ambassadors and presents, such as the Persians used to bestow, purple, bracelets of gold, and compositions of perfumes, they made a mock of his presents, wherein they saw nothing useful for life, as well as of his ambassadors, whom they took for spies, as they were. But their king would also make a present, in his way, to the king of Persia, and taking up a bow which a Persian could hardly wield, far less draw, he bent it in the presence of the ambassadors, and thus bespoke them: "Hear the counsel which the king of Ethiopia giveth to the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use as easily as I now have done, a bow of this size and strength, let them come and attack the Ethiopians, and let them bring more troops than Cambyses is master of. In the mean time let them give thanks to the gods, who have not put into the heart of the Ethiopians the desire of extending themselves out of their own country." This said, he unbended the bow, and gave it to the ambassadors. We cannot tell what might have been the event of the war: but Cambyses, incensed at the answer, set forwards towards Ethiopia like a madman, without order, without convoys, without discipline; and his army perished for want of provisions, in the midst of the sands, before they came near the enemy. Herod. lib. iii.

Those people of Ethiopia were not however so just as they boasted, nor so much confined to their own country. Their neighbours, the Egyptians, had often felt their power. There is nothing coherent in the counsels of those savage and uncultivated nations: if nature oftentimes begins fine sentiments in them, it never finishes them: so that there we see little to be learned, or imitated. We shall therefore say no more about them, but proceed to polished nations.

The Egyptians were the first among whom the rules of government were known. That grave and serious nation first understood the true end of policy, which is to render life commodious, and people happy. The ever uniform temperature of the clime made their understandings solid and steady. As virtue is the foundation of all society, virtue they diligently cultivated. Their cardinal virtue was gratitude. The glory allowed them, of being the most grateful of all men, shows that they were also the most sociable. Good offices are the bond of public and private union. He who acknowledges favours, loves to bestow them; and ingratitude once banished, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure, that it is no longer possible to be insensible of it. Their laws were simple, full of equity, and suited to unite the citizens among themselves. He who had it in his power to save a person attacked, and did it not, was punished with death as rigorously as the assassin. But if a man could not relieve the distressed, he was obliged however to delate the author of the violence, and there were punishments appointed for those who neglected this duty. Thus the citizens were mutually the guard of each other, and the whole body of the state was united against evil doers. It was not allowed to be useless to the state; the law assigned each his employment, which descended from father to son. A man could neither have two, nor change his profession; but then all professions were honourable. There were necessarily some employments and persons more consider-

Diod. lib. i. sect. 2.

Ibid.

Ibid.

able than others, as there must needs be eyes in the body. Their brightness does not make the feet, or the lower parts contemptible: so among the Egyptians, the priests and soldiers had peculiar marks of honour; but all trades, to the very meanest, were held in esteem; and it was thought criminal to despise the citizens, whose labours, whatever they were, contributed to the public good. By this means all arts came to their perfection: honour, which fosters them, was every where concerned: men did better what they had always seen done, and what they had solely been practised in from their infancy.

But there was one occupation which was to be common, and that was the study of the laws, and of wisdom. Ignorance of the religion and polity of the country was dispensed with in no station: moreover, each profession had its district assigned it: from this there arose no inconveniency in a country that was not very large; and in so beautiful an economy the idle had no where to hide themselves.

Among so good laws, what was most excellent, was, that every body was bred up in the spirit of observing them. A new custom was a prodigy in Egypt; every thing went on always in the same regular course; and the exact observance of small matters, maintained those of greater moment: and so never was there a people that longer preserved its usages and laws. The order of their courts of justice served to keep up this spirit. Thirty judges were chosen out of the principal cities, to compose the court that judged the whole kingdom. None were to be seen in those places of dignity but persons of the greatest honour and gravity in the whole country. The prince appointed them certain revenues, that so being free from domestic incumbrances, they might bestow their whole time in enforcing the observance of the laws. Nothing did they get by law-suits, and making a trade of justice was yet a thing unthought of. To avoid impositions, affairs were discussed by writing in that assembly.

Herod. l. ii. Diod. l. i. sec. 2. Plat. de leg. ii.

Diod. i. sec. 2.

Those sages were afraid of false eloquence, which dazzles the judgment, and moves the passions. Truth could not be set forth in too dry a manner. The president of the senate wore a golden collar set with precious stones, from whence hung a figure without eyes, which was called Truth. His putting it on was the signal for opening the sessions. He moved it towards the party that was to gain his cause, and this was the form of pronouncing sentence. One of the finest artifices of the Egyptians, to preserve their ancient maxims, was, to clothe them with certain ceremonies which imprinted them upon the mind. Those ceremonies were observed with due reflection, nor did the serious humour of the Egyptians suffer them to dwindle into bare forms. Those who had no business, and lived an innocent life, might avoid the scrutiny of that severe tribunal. But there was in Egypt one sort of trial altogether extraordinary, which nobody escaped. 'Tis a consolation on a deathbed, to leave one's name in esteem among men, and of all human blessings, this is the only one that death cannot rob us of. But it was not allowed in Egypt indiscriminately to praise all the dead; this honour was to be had only by a public decree. The moment a man died, he was brought into judgment. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the conduct of the deceased had been bad, his memory was condemned, and he deprived of burial. The people admired the power of the laws, which extended even after death, and every one, touched with the recent example, feared to disgrace his memory and his family. But if the defunct was not convicted of any misdemeanor, he was buried honourably; and a panegyric was made upon him, but without the least mention of his birth. All Egypt was noble, and besides, no praises there were regarded, but such as were won by merit.

Every one knows how carefully the Egyptians preserved dead bodies. Their mummies are still to be

seen. Thus their gratitude to their kindred was immortal: children, by beholding the bodies of their ancestors, called to mind their virtues which the public had acknowledged, and were animated to love the laws they had left them.

To prevent borrowing, whence proceed idleness, frauds, and chicane, king Asychis made a decree, that no man should borrow without mortgaging his father's body to the lender. It was at once impious and infamous, not speedily to redeem so precious a pledge; and he who died without discharging this duty, was denied sepulture. Herod. l. iii. Diod. i. sec. 2.

The kingdom was hereditary; but the king was more bound than all others to live according to the laws. They had some peculiar ones, which a king had digested, and which made a part of the sacred books. Not that any thing was disputed with the kings, or that any one had a right to control them; on the contrary, they were honoured as gods: but ancient custom had settled every thing, and they had no notion of living differently from their ancestors. Thus they submitted, without pain, not only to have the quality and quantity of their eating and drinking prescribed them, (for nothing was more common in Egypt, where every body was sober, and the air of the country inspired temperance) but even to have all their hours devoted to particular purposes. Upon walking at break of day, when the judgment is most distinct, and the thoughts clearest, they read their letters, in order to form a more adequate and truer notion of the affairs they had to decide. So soon as they were dressed, they went to sacrifice at the temple: there, surrounded with their whole court, and the victims laid upon the altar, they assisted at prayer, full of instruction, wherein the priest besought the gods to bestow upon the prince all royal virtues, that so he might be religious towards the gods, mild towards men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere, averse to falsehood, liberal, master of himself, pu- Ibid. Herod. ii. Diod. f. sect. 3.

nishing below desert, and rewarding beyond merit. The priest mentioned next the faults which kings were liable to commit; but he always supposed, that they fell into them only through imposition or ignorance, pouring out imprecations upon the ministers who gave them evil counsels, and disguised the truth from them. Such was the manner of instructing the
Ibid. kings. It was judged, that reproaches did but sour their minds, and that the most effectual way of instilling virtue unto them, was, to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the laws, and solemnly pronounced before the gods. After the prayer and sacrifice, there were read to the king, in the holy books, the counsels and actions of great men, to the end that he should govern his kingdom by their maxims, and maintain the laws which had rendered his predecessors, as well as their subjects, happy.

What shows that those admonitions were seriously given and attended to, is, that they had their desired effect. Among the Thebans, that is, in the chief dynasty, that wherein the laws were in full force, and which at last became mistress of all the rest, the greatest men were kings. The two Mercuries, authors of the sciences, and of all the institutions of the Egyptians, the one who lived near the time of the flood, and the other who was called *Trismegistus*, or thrice great, a contemporary of Moses, were both
Herod. l. ii kings of Thebes. All Egypt profited by their lights,
Diod. i. sect. 2. and to their instructions Thebes owes her having had so few bad princes. These were forbore with during their lifetime; for so the public peace required: but they were not exempted from the trial that was to be
Ibid. undergone after death. Some were deprived of burial, but of this we see but few instances; and on the contrary, most of the kings were so beloved by their people, that every one lamented their death as much as that of his father or of his children.

This custom of judging kings after their death was held sacred by the people of God, who always prac-

tised it. We read in Scripture, that wicked kings were deprived of the burial of their fathers; and we learn from Josephus, that that custom continued even in the days of the Asmoneans. It gave the kings to know, that if their majesty sets them above human judgment during their life, they must come to it at last, when death has levelled them with other mortals. Ant. xiii. 23.

The Egyptians had an inventive genius, but they applied it to useful objects. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and had left it ignorant of almost nothing that could render life commodious and easy. I cannot allow the Egyptians the glory they have given their Osiris, of having invented husbandry; for we find it in all time in the countries adjacent to that from whence mankind was propagated, and we cannot doubt but it was known from the beginning of the world. And indeed the Egyptians themselves give so great antiquity to Osiris, that it is evident they have confounded his time with that of the creation of the universe, and that they have ascribed to him things, the original whereof went very far beyond all times known in their history. But if the Egyptians did not invent agriculture, nor the other arts which we see before the deluge, they brought them to such perfections, and took so great pains to restore them among the nations where barbarism had caused them to be forgot, that their glory is not much less than if they had been the inventors. Diod. lib. i. sect. 1. Plut. de Isid. & Osir.

There are also some very important ones, the invention of which cannot be disputed them. As their country was level, and their atmosphere always clear and unclouded, they were the first who observed the course of the stars. They likewise first regulated the year. These observations led them naturally into arithmetic; and if it is true what Plato says, that the Sun and Moon taught men the knowledge of numbers, that is, that regular computations begun by that of days, months and years, the Egyptians were the first who attended to those wonderful teachers. The plan- Plat. Epin. Diod. i. sect. 2. Herod. lib. ii. Plat. in Tim.

ets and other stars were no less known to them; and they found out that great year which brings back the whole heavens to their first point. In order to know again their own lands that were yearly overflowed by the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveying, which soon made them acquainted with geometry. They were great observers of nature, which in so serene an air, and under so hot a sun, was extremely vigorous and fruitful. And this it was also, that occasioned physic to be invented or perfected by them. Thus all the sciences were had in great honour among them. The inventors of things useful received both in their life time, and after their death, suitable rewards of their labours. This it was that immortalized the works of their two Mercuries, and made them be regarded as divine books. The first library we read of, was that of Egypt. The title that was given it made people curious to go into it, and to penetrate its secrets: it was called *The treasure of the remedies of the soul.* For the soul there cureth itself of ignorance, the most dangerous of its diseases, and the source of all others.

Diod. lib. i. sect 2.
Diod. i. sect. 2.
Hered. ili. init.
Diod. lib. i sect. 2.

One of the things most strongly impressed on the minds of the Egyptians, was a regard and love for their country. It was, said they, the residence of the gods who had reigned there a vast many thousand years; she was the mother of man and beast, which the land of Egypt, watered by the Nile, had brought forth, while the rest of nature was barren. The priests, who composed the history of Egypt of that immense series of ages, which they stuffed with nothing but fables and the genealogies of their gods, did so in order to imprint on the minds of the people the antiquity and nobleness of their country. In fine, their real history was contained within moderate bounds; but they thought it glorious to lose themselves in an infinite abyss of time, which seemed to bring them near to eternity.

Plat. in Tim.
Diod. i. sect. 1.

However the love of their country had some more

solid foundations. Egypt was indeed the finest country in the world, the most plentiful by nature, and best improved by art, the richest, most commodious, and most adorned by the care and magnificence of its kings.

There was nothing but was great in their designs and in their works. What they made of the Nile, is incredible. It seldom rains in Egypt; but that river, which waters the whole by its regular inundations, conveys to it the rains and snows of other countries. In order to multiply so beneficial a river, Egypt was crossed by an infinite number of canals of an incredible length and breadth. The Nile carried fruitfulness every where along with its salutary waters, united cities to one another, and the main Ocean with the Red Sea, kept up commerce both within and without the kingdom, and fortified it against the enemy: so that it was at once the nourisher and defender of Egypt. The champaign country was abandoned to it: but the cities raised with immense labour, and lifting up their heads like so many islands in the midst of the waters, looked down with joy upon all the plain overflowed, and at the same time fertilized, by the Nile. When it swelled beyond measure, great lakes dug by the kings, offered their bosoms to the spreading waves. They had their outlets prepared; large sluices opened or shut them as occasion required; and the waters having their retreat, remained upon the lands no longer than was necessary to fatten them. Herod. l. 2. Diod. l. 1. sect. 2.

Such was the use of that vast lake which was called the lake of Myris, or Moeris: this was the name of the king who had made it. One is amazed to read, what nevertheless is certain, that its compass round was about an hundred and fourscore of our leagues, or five hundred and forty miles. That too many good lands might not be lost by digging it, it was extended chiefly on the side of Lybia. The fishery of it yielded vast sums to the prince; and so when the earth produced nothing, treasures were drawn from it by Herod. & Diod. Ibid.

covering it with water. Two Pyramids, each of which bore upon a throne two colossial statues, one of Moeris, and the other of his consort, rose three hundred feet above the middle of the lake, and occupied a like space under the waters. Thus they showed that they had been erected before the pit was filled, and demonstrated that a lake of that extent had been made by men's hands under one single prince.

Herod. ii. Diod. i. 2. Those who do not know to what degree the earth may be improved, take for a fable what is related of the number of the cities of Egypt. Their richness was no less incredible. There was not one of them

Herod. ibid. but was full of magnificent temples and stately palaces. The architecture every where exhibited that noble simplicity, and that greatness which fills the mind. Long galleries displayed sculptures that were after-

Diod. ibid. wards models to Greece. Thebes could vie with the finest cities in the universe. Her hundred gates sung by Homer are known to all the world. She was no less populous than extensive, and it has been said, that

Pomp. Mela i. 9. she could send out at once ten thousand fighting men at every one of her gates. Let there be, if you will, some exaggeration in this number; 'tis however undoubted that her people were innumerable. The

Strab. xvii. Tac. Ann. ii. 60. Greeks and Romans have celebrated her magnificence, and grandeur, even though they saw but her ruins: so august were her very remains.

Had our travellers penetrated as far as the place where the city was built, they would doubtless have still found something incomparable in her ruins, for the works of the Egyptians were made to stand proof

Herod. & Diod. loc. cit. against the power of time. Their statues were Colosses. Their pillars were immense. Egypt aimed at the grand, and was willing to strike at a distance, but always pleasing by the justness of the proportions.

Voyag. imp. par M. Thevenot. There have been discovered in the Sayd (you well know that this is the name of the Thebaid) temples and palaces almost still entire where those columns and statues are numberless. One palace especially is

admired there, the remains whereof seem to have stood, only to eclipse the glory of the world's other grandest works. Four walks longer than sight, and bounded on each side by sphinxes of a substance as rare as their size is remarkable, serve as avenues to four portico's, of a stupendous height. What magnificence, and what extent! yet those who have described to us that prodigious edifice, have not had time to go round it, and are not even sure that they have seen one half of it; but all they saw was surprising. A hall, which probably was the middle of that stately palace, was supported by an hundred and twenty pillars, 36 feet thick, proportionably tall, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. The very colours, and they are what soonest feel the power of time, are still undefaced amidst the ruins of that admirable structure, and still preserve their liveliness: so much had Egypt the art of imprinting the character of immortality upon all her works. Now that the king's name penetrates to the most unknown parts of the world, and as that prince extends as far as the researches he causes to be made for the noblest works both of nature and art, would it not be an object worthy that noble curiosity, to discover the beauties which the Thebaid contains in its deserts, and to enrich our architecture with the inventions of Egypt? What power and what art must there have been to make such a country the wonder of the world! And what beauties should we not find, could we come at the royal city, since so far from it we discover such wonderful things?

To Egypt alone it belonged to erect monuments for posterity. Her obelisks are even to this day, as much for their beauty as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power despairing of equalling the Egyptians, thought it sufficient for its grandeur to borrow the monuments of their kings.

Egypt had yet seen no large structures but the tower of Babel, when she imagined her Pyramids, which, by

their shape as well as size, stand triumphant over *time* and barbarians. The good taste of the Egyptians made them ever after love solidity and regularity quite plain. Is it not that nature leads of itself to that simple manner, to which it is so hard to return, when the taste has been vitiated by a whimsical novelty and boldness? Be this as it will, the Egyptians loved only a regular boldness; they sought the new and surprising only in the infinite variety of nature, and boasted that they alone like the gods, had made immortal works. The inscriptions on the Pyramids were no less noble than the workmanship. They addressed themselves to the spectators. One of these Pyramids built of brick, warned them by its title not to compare it with others, for *that it was as far above all Pyramids, as Jupiter was above all Gods.*

Herod. 2.

Herod. ibid. Diod. i. sect. 2.

But let men do their utmost, their nothingness every where appears. Those Pyramids were tombs; and the very kings who built them had not power to be interred in them, nor did they enjoy their own sepulchres.

I should not mention that fine palace, which was called the Labyrinth, did not Herodote, who saw it, assure us that it was more surprising than the Pyramids. It had been built on the side of the lake of Moeris, and a prospect given it suitable to its grandeur. But indeed, it was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile of twelve palaces regularly disposed, which had a communication with each other. A range of fifteen hundred chambers, intermixed with terrasses, surrounded twelve halls, and left no egress to such as had the curiosity to visit them. There were as many apartments under ground. These subterraneous mansions were destined for the burial-palace of the kings, and likewise (who could relate it without shame, and without deploring the blindness of the human mind?) to entertain the sacred crocodiles, which that nation, in other respects so wise, made its gods.

Herod. & Diod. ibid.

You are amazed to see so much magnificence in the sepulchres of Egypt. The matter was, besides their being erected as sacred monuments to convey to future ages the memory of great princes; they were also looked upon as eternal habitations. The houses were called inns, where people were only passengers, and during a life too short to terminate all their designs: but the true homes were the tombs, in which they were to dwell through endless ages. Diod. ibid.

Moreover, it was not on inanimate things that Egypt bestowed most pains. Her noblest works and most excellent art consisted in forming of men. Greece was so persuaded of this, that her greatest men, such as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, Lycurgus himself, and Solon, those two great lawgivers, and others needless to name, went to learn wisdom in Egypt. God thought fit that Moses himself should be *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians:* thereby it was that he begun to be *mighty in words and in deeds.* True wisdom avails itself of every thing, and God will not have those whom he inspires, to neglect the human means, which also proceed from him in their own way. Diod. ibid. Plut. de Isi. [Acts vii. 22.]

Those sages of Egypt had studied the regimen, that makes solid minds, robust bodies, fruitful wives, and vigorous children. By this means the people increased in number, and in strength. The country was naturally healthful; but philosophy had taught them that nature requires to be assisted. There is an art in forming the body as well as the mind. This art, which we through our carelessness have lost, was well known to the ancients, and Egypt had first found it. In this excellent design she chiefly made use of temperance and exercise. In a large field of battle, which was seen by Herodote, the skulls of the Persians, easily to be pierced, and those of the Egyptians, harder than the stones they were mixed with, showed the effeminacy of the former, and the robust constitution which a frugal diet, and vigorous exercise, Diod. i sect. 1. Herod. iii.

bestowed upon the latter. Races on foot, on horseback, and in chariots, were practised in Egypt with a wonderful dexterity, nor were there in all the world better horsemen than the Egyptians. When Diodorus tells us, that they rejected wrestling, as an exercise which conferred a dangerous and short-lived strength, he must needs have meant the immoderate wrestling of the Athlets, or prize-wrestlers, which Greece herself, who crowned it in her games, had blamed, as unsuitable to free persons: but with a certain moderation, it was not unworthy of the most honourable; and Diodorus himself informs us, that the Mercury of the Egyptians had invented its rules, as well as the art of forming the body. Just so are we to understand what that author says also concerning music. That which he makes the Egyptians to despise, as liable to slacken their courage, was doubtless that soft and effeminate music which inspires nothing but pleasure, and a false tenderness. For as to that generous music, whose noble harmony elevates the mind and soul the Egyptians were very far from despising it; seeing, according to Diodorus himself, their Mercury had invented it, as also the gravest instrument of the music. In the solemn procession of the Egyptians, wherein were carried, in solemn pomp, the books of Trismegistus, we see the chief singer walk at the head, holding in his hand "a symbol of music (what it was I know not) and the books of sacred hymns." In short, Egypt forgot nothing that could polish the mind, exalt the soul, and strengthen the body. Four hundred thousand soldiers, which she kept on foot, were those of her citizens, whom she trained with greatest care. The military laws were easily preserved, and, in a manner, preserved of themselves, because fathers taught them their children: for the profession of war went from father to son, like the rest; and next to the priestly families, those esteemed most illustrious were, as among us, the families destined to arms. I will not say, however, that the Egyptians were a warlike peo-

Diod. i. sect. 2.

Diod. i. sect. 1.

Id. i. sect. 2.

Id. i. sect. 1.

Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6.

ple. Let a nation keep up ever so many regular troops, let them be ever so much trained in a parade of martial toils, and amidst mock battles; nothing but war, and real fighting, will ever make warriors. Egypt loved peace because she loved justice, and had soldiers only for her defence. Content with her own country, where peace and plenty reigned, she never thought of conquest. She extended herself in another way, by sending her colonies all over the earth, and with them politeness and laws. The most renowned cities came to learn in Egypt their antiquities, and the source of their finest institutions. She was consulted, from all quarters, upon the rules of wisdom. When the men of Elis had instituted the Olympic games, the most famous in Greece, they sent a solemn ambassy to crave the approbation of the Egyptians and learned of them new ways of animating the combatants. Egypt reigned by her counsels, and that empire of understanding appeared to her more noble and glorious than that which is established by arms. Although the kings of Thebes were, without comparison, the most powerful of all the kings of Egypt, never did they incroach on the neighbouring dynasties, which they seized upon only when these dynasties were invaded by the Arabians; so that, to say the truth, they rather took them from strangers, than wanted to rule over the natives of the country. But when they took upon them to be conquerors, they surpassed all others. I do not speak of Osiris the vanquisher of the Indies, who was probably Bacchus, or some other hero as fabulous. Sesostris's father (whom the learned will have to be Amenophis, otherwise Memnon) either by instinct or humour, or as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, conceived the design of making his son a conqueror. He set about it after the manner of the Egyptians, that is, with great thoughts. All the children who were born the same day with Sesostris, were brought to court by the king's order: he caused them to be educated as

Plat. in Tim.

Herod. ii.

Diod. lib. 1. sect. 2.

his own children, and with the same care as Sesostris, about whom they were bred up. He could not provide him more faithful ministers, nor more zealous companions of his battles. When he was come some length, he made him serve his first campaign in a war against the Arabians. The young prince there learned to bear hunger and thirst, and subjected that till then, unconquerable nation. Inured to the toils of war by this conquest, his father made him turn his arms towards the west of Egypt: he attacked Lybia, and the greatest part of that vast country was subdued. At this time his father died, and left him in a condition for any enterprize. He conceived no less a
Diod. ibid. design than that of the conquest of the world: but before he marched out of his kingdom, he provided for his domestic security, by gaining the hearts of all his people by liberality and justice, and moreover by regulating the government with the most consummate prudence. In the mean time he was making his pre-
Ibid. parations: he levied troops, and appointed for their captains the youths whom his father had caused to be brought up with him. Seventeen hundred were there of them, fit to diffuse through the whole army courage and discipline, and the love of their prince. This done, he entered Ethiopia, which he rendered tributary. He carried on his victories into Asia, Jerusalem was the first there that felt the force of his arms. Hot-headed Rehoboam could not withstand him, and Sesostris carried off the riches of Solomon. God, by
Ibid. a just judgment had delivered them into his hands. He penetrated into the Indies farther than either Hercules or Bacchus, and farther than did afterwards Alexander, seeing he subdued the country beyond the Ganges. By this you may judge whether the more neighbouring countries withstood him. The Scythians submitted as far as the Tanais: Armenia and Cappadocia became subject unto him. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchos, where the manners of Egypt have ever since remained. Herodote found

in the Lesser Asia, from one sea to the other, monuments of his victories, with the proud inscriptions of Sesostris king of kings, and lord of lords. Some there were even in Thrace, and he extended his empire from the Ganges to the Danube. The difficulty of provisions prevented his entering farther into Europe. He returned after nine years, loaded with the spoils of the vanquished nations. Some of them had bravely defended their liberty, others had yielded without resistance: Sesostris took care to mark on his monuments, the difference of those nations, in hieroglyphical figures after the manner of the Egyptians. In order to describe his empire, he invented geographical maps. An hundred famous temples, erected by way of thanksgiving to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the first, as well as noblest marks of his victories; and he took care to make known by the inscriptions, that those great works had been finished without any trouble to his subjects. He placed his glory in sparing them, and in making none but captives work at the monuments of his victories. For this he had Solomon's example. That wise prince had employed only the tributary nations in the great works which rendered his reign immortal. His native subjects were engaged in nobler exercises; they learned to make war, and to command. Sesostris could not copy after a more perfect model. He reigned thirty-three years, and long enjoyed his triumphs; but had been much more worthy of glory, had not vanity prompted him to have his chariot drawn by conquered kings. He seems to have scorned to die like other men. Having lost his sight in his old age, he put himself to death, and left Egypt rich for ever. Yet his empire did not last beyond the fourth generation: but there remained, even in Tiberius's time, magnificent monuments, which showed the extent of it, and the quantity of the tributes paid him. Egypt soon returned to her pacific disposition: it has even been said, that Sesostris, after his conquests, was the first to soften the man-

Herod. & Diod. ibid.

2 Chro. viii. 9.

Diod. i. sect. 2.

Tac. Ann. ii.

Nymphod. lib. xii. rer. barb.

post. Herod. ners of the Egyptians, for fear of revolts. If there be any truth in this, the precaution could only be for his succcessors. As for himself, wise and absolute as he was, one does not see what he could fear from his people, who adored him. But besides, the thought was unworthy so great a prince; and it was badly to provide for the security of his conquests, to suffer the courage of his subjects to be weakened. It is true, indeed, that that great empire stood not long: some Herod. & Diod. Ibid. way or other it must have fallen. Division took place in Egypt. In the time of Anysias the blind, Sabacon the Ethiopian invaded the kingdom: he used the people as well, and did as great things there, as any one of the natural kings. Never was there seen a moderation like his; for after a fifty years happy reign, he returned into Ethiopia, in obedience to some warnings he believed divine. The kingdom abandoned fell into the hands of Setho, priest of Vulcan, a religious prince in his way, but no warrior, and who completely enervated the soldiers, by mal treating the martial men. From that time Egypt supported herself only by foreign force. A sort of anarchy prevails. We find twelve kings chosen by the people, who shared among them the government of the kingdom. It was them who built those twelve palaces which composed the Labyrinth. Though Egypt could not forget her magnificence, she was weak and divided under these twelve princes. One of them, namely Psammeticus, made himself sole master by the help of foreigners. Egypt revived, and continued pretty powerful for five or six reigns. At last that ancient kingdom, after having stood about sixteen hundred years, weakened by the kings of Babylon, and by Cyrus, fell a prey to Cambyses, the maddest of all princes.

Strab. lib. xvii. Such as have well understood the humour of Egypt, have acknowledged that she was not warlike: you have seen the reasons. She had lived in peace about thirteen hundred years, when she produced her first

warrior, who was Sesostris: so likewise, notwithstanding her militia, so carefully kept up, we see, towards the end, her whole strength lying in foreign troops, which is one of the greatest defects a state can have. But human things are never perfect, and it is no easy matter to enjoy at once, in perfection, the arts of peace with the advantage of war. 'Tis pretty fair to have subsisted sixteen centuries. Some Ethiopians reigned at Thebes in that interval; among others Sabacon, and, as is thought, Tirhakah. But Egypt reaped this benefit from the excellent constitution of her state, that the foreigners, who conquered her, embraced her manners rather than introduce their own: thus changing masters, she changed not her government. She could not easily bear the Persians, whose yoke she often attempted to shake off. But she was not warrior enough to support herself, by her own force, against so great a power; and the Grecians, who defended her, being taken up elsewhere, were forced to abandon her, so that she always fell back into the subjection of her first masters, but ever obstinately wedded to her ancient customs, and incapable of denying the maxims of her first kings. Although she retained a great many of them under the Ptolemies, the mixture of the Grecian and Asiatic manners was become so great, that ancient Egypt could scarce any more be known.

We must not forget, that the times of the ancient kings of Egypt are very uncertain, even in the history of the Egyptians. We find it hard to place Osimandyas, of whom we see such magnificent monuments in Diodorus, and so glorious marks of his battles. The Egyptians seem not to have known Sesostris's father, whom Herodote and Diodorus have not named. His power is also more declared by the monuments he left in all the earth, than by the memoirs of his country; and these reasons let us see that we are not to believe, as some do, that what Egypt published of her antiquities, was always as exact as she boasted, since

Diod. i sect. 2

herself is so uncertain about the most eminent times of her monarchy.

The old and new Assyrians, the Medes, and Cyrus.

IV. The great empire of the Egyptians is, in a manner, distinct from all others, and has, as you see, no long series. What remains for us to say is better supported, and has more precise dates.

We nevertheless have still very few things certain concerning the first empire of the Assyrians; but, in short, place we its beginnings in whatever time we will, according to the different opinions of historians, you will see, that, when the world was divided into several petty states, whose princes thought rather of preserving than augmenting their dominions, Ninus, more enterprising and powerful than his neighbours, overthrew them one after another, and pushed his conquests very far in the east. His wife Semiramis, who joined to ambition, which is common enough to her sex, a courage and conduct not usually found in it, supported the vast designs of her husband, and completed the forming of that monarchy.

Diod. ii. Just. 1

Strab. xvi. Herod. i. Dion. Hal. i. Appian. in Syr. Genes. xiv. 1, 2. Jud. iii. 8. Plat de leg iii.

It was doubtless great, as is plain from the greatness of Nineveh, which is counted above that of Babylon. But as the most judicious historians do not make that monarchy so ancient as others represent it to us, neither do they make it so great. The petty kingdoms, whereof it must have been composed, stood too long for its being as ancient and extensive as the fabling Ctesias, and those, who took it upon his word, describe it to us. 'Tis true that Plato, who was a curious observer of antiquity, makes the kingdom of Troy, in Priam's time, a dependency of the Assyrian empire. But we see nothing of this in Homer, who, in the design he had to set forth the glory of Greece, would not have forgot that circumstance; and we may believe, that the Assyrians were little known westward, since a poet so intelligent, and so curious to adorn his poem with whatever belonged to his subject, hath never once made them appear there.

However, according to the computation which we have judged the most reasonable, the time of the siege of Troy was the most glorious time of the Assyrians, seeing it was that of the conquests of Semiramis: but the matter is, they extended only towards the east. Those who flatter her the most, make her turn her arms that way. She had had too great a share in the counsels and victories of Ninus, not to follow out his designs, otherwise so agreeable to the situation of her empire; and I believe it cannot be doubted but Ninus confined himself to the east, since Justin himself, who favours him as much as he can, makes him terminate, at the borders of Libya, his enterprises westward. Just. i. Diod. ii.

I do not know therefore at what time Nineveh should have pushed its conquests as far as Troy, since we see so little probability that Ninus or Semiramis attempted any such thing; and that all their successors, to begin from their son Ninyas, lived in such a state of softness and inaction, that scarce are their very names come down to us, and we should rather wonder that their empire could have subsisted at all, than imagine it could have extended its compass.

It was doubtless greatly diminished by the conquests of Sesostris: but as they were of short continuance, and weakly supported by his successors, it is to be thought, that the countries which that victorious king took from the Assyrians, having long been accustomed to their dominion, returned naturally to it: so that that empire maintained itself in great power and peace, until Arbaces having discovered the effeminacy of its kings, so long hid in the secret recesses of the palace, Sardanapalus, noted for his infamous behaviour, became not only contemptible, but insupportable to his subjects.

You have seen the kingdoms which sprung from the wreck of that first empire of the Assyrians: among others, that of Nineveh, and that of Babylon.

The kings of Nineveh retained the name of kings of Assyria, and were the most powerful. Their pride soon swelled beyond all bounds upon the conquests they made, amongst which is reckoned that of the kingdom of the Israelites, or of Samaria. Nothing less than the hand of God, and a visible miracle, could have hindered their overwhelming Judea under Hezekiah, nor was it known what bounds might be set to their power, when they were seen to usurp a little after in their neighbourhood the kingdom of Babylon, where the royal family was extinct.

Babylon seemed born to command the whole earth. Her people were full of wit and courage. Philosophy had ever reigned among them, together with the liberal arts, and the east had few better soldiers than the Chaldeans. Antiquity admires the rich crops of a country, which the negligence of its inhabitants leaves now uncultivated; and its plenty made it looked upon, under the ancient kings of Persia, as the third part of so great an empire. Thus the kings of Assyria, flushed with the accession which so opulent a city made to their monarchy, conceived new designs. Nebuchadnezzar I. thought his empire unworthy of him, if he added not the whole world to it. Nebuchadnezzar II. prouder than all the kings his predecessors, after unheard of successes, and surprizing conquests, would rather be worshipped as a god, than command as a king. What works did he undertake in Babylon! What walls, what towers, what gates, what a compass did there appear! It seemed as if the old tower of Babel was about to rise again in the prodigious height of the temple of Bel, and that Nebuchadnezzar had a mind once more to threaten heaven. His pride, though humbled by the hand of God, did nevertheless revive in his successors. They could suffer no dominion about them; and wanting to bring every thing under the yoke, became insupportable to the neighbouring nations. Thus jealousy united against them, together with the kings

Xen. Cyr. iii. iv.

Herod. i.

of Media and Persia, great part of the people of the east. Pride turns easily into cruelty. As the kings of Babylon treated their subjects barbarously, whole nations, as well as chief lords of their empire, joined Cyrus and the Medes. Babylon too much used to command and to conquer, to fear so many enemies confederate against her, while she thinks herself invincible, becomes captive to the Medes, whom she meant to subdue, and falls at last by her pride. Xen. Cyr. l. iii. iv.

The fate of that city was strange, for she fell by her own inventions. The Euphrates produced pretty near the same effect in its spacious plains, as the Nile in those of Egypt: but to render it convenient, there required yet more art and labour than Egypt bestowed on the Nile. The Euphrates was straight in its course, and never overflowed. The people were therefore obliged to make through the whole country an infinite number of canals for it, that so it might water the lands, which became incomparably fertile by this means. To break the violence of its too impetuous waters, it was necessary to make it run through a thousand windings, and to dig for it great lakes, which a wise queen faced with incredible magnificence. Nitocris, mother of Labynithes, otherwise named Nabonides or Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, executed these great works. But that queen undertook one far more wonderful; which was, to build a stone bridge over the Euphrates, that the two sides of the city, which the vast breadth of the river did too much separate, might have a communication with each other. It was necessary therefore to dry up so rapid and deep a river, by turning aside its waters into an immense lake which the queen had caused to be dug. At the same time the bridge was built, the solid materials whereof were prepared, and the two banks of the river were faced with brick to a stupendous height, leaving descents faced with the same, and of as fine workmanship as the walls of the city. The diligence with which the work was carried on Herod. 2.

Herod. Ibid. equalled the greatness of it. But so foreseeing a queen little thought she was teaching her enemies to take the city. It was into that very lake which she had dug, that Cyrus turned the Euphrates, when, despairing of reducing Babylon, either by force or famine, he opened to himself on both sides of the city, the passages which we have seen so much taken notice of by the prophets.

Ibid. Could Babylon have believed herself perishable, like all other human things, and had not an infatuated confidence blinded her, not only might she have foreseen what Cyrus did, seeing the memory of just such another work was recent, but also by guarding all the descents, she might have overwhelmed the Persians in the river's channel through which they passed. But nothing was minded save pleasures and feasting; there was no order, no regular command. Thus fall not only the strongest places, but also the greatest empires. A panic seized the whole; the impious king was slain; and Xenophon, who gives this title to the last king of Babylon, seems by that epithet to allude to Belshazzar's sacrilege, which Daniel shows us punished by so surprizing a fall.

Xenop. vii.

The Medes, who had destroyed the first empire of the Assyrians, were also the destroyers of the second; as if that nation had been always to prove fatal to the Assyrian power. But this last time the valour and great name of Cyrus made the Persians his subjects to get the glory of the conquest.

Xenop. Cyr. i.

Indeed, it was entirely owing to that hero, who having been bred up under a severe and regular discipline, according to the custom of the Persians, a people then as moderate, as since they have been voluptuous, was inured from his infancy to a sober and military life. The Medes, formerly so laborious and martial, but at length softened by their plenty, as is always the case, stood much in need of such a general. Cyrus availed himself of their riches, and of their name ever respected in the east; but placed his hopes of success in the troops he had brought from Persia. In the first

Polyb. v. 44. x. 24. Xen. Cyr. iv. v.

battle the king of Babylon was slain, and the Assyrians routed. The victor offered the new king single combat, and while he showed his courage, he gained the reputation of a merciful prince, who desires to spare the blood of his subjects. To valour he joined policy. For fear of ruining so fine a country, which he already looked upon as his conquest, he caused it to be agreed, that the husbandmen should be spared on both sides. He found means to awaken the jealousy of the neighbouring nations against the haughty power of Babylon, who was aiming at universal sway; and at length the glory which he had acquired as much by his generosity and justice, as by the success of his arms, having united them all under his standards, with so great assistance he subjected that vast tract of land whereof he composed his empire.

And thus arose that monarchy. Cyrus rendered it so powerful, that it could not well fail of growing under his successors. But in order to understand what ruined it, we need but to compare the Persians and the successors of Cyrus, with the Grecians and their generals, especially with Alexander.

V. The Persians, Grecians, and Alexander Plat. de leg. iii.

Cambyses, son of Cyrus, was the corrupter of the Persian manners. His father, so well trained up in the toils of war, took not sufficient care to give the successor to so great an empire an education like to his own; and by the usual fate of human things, too much greatness proved a foe to virtue. Darius son of Hystaspes, who from a private life was raised to the throne, brought better dispositions to the sovereign power, and made some efforts to rectify disorders: but corruption was, by that time, too universal; plenty had introduced too great irregularities into manners, and Darius had not himself preserved fortitude enough to be capable entirely to reform others. Every thing degenerated under his successors, and the luxury of the Persians went beyond all measure.

But although that people, become powerful, had lost much of their former virtue by giving themselves

up to pleasure, they had still preserved something that was great and noble. What can we find more noble than the abhorrence they had to a lie, which was ever accounted, among them, a shameful and sordid vice? What they held most infamous next to a lie, was to live by borrowing. Such a life appeared to them idle, shameful, servile, and so much the more contemptible, that it led to lying. Through a generosity natural to their nation, they treated vanquished kings honourably. If the children of those princes could any wise agree with the victors, they allowed them to rule in their own countries with almost all the marks of their former dignity. The Persians were honest, courteous, liberal to strangers, and knew how to make use of them. Persons of merit were taken notice of among them. 'Tis true they did not arrive at a perfect knowledge of that wisdom which teacheth to govern well. Their great empire was always ruled with some confusion. They could never find out that excellent art, so well practised afterwards by the Romans, of uniting all the parts of a great state, and of making of them one perfect whole: and so were they almost never without considerable revolts. They were not however without policy. The rules of justice were known among them, and they had some great kings, who caused them to be observed with an admirable exactness. Crimes were severely punished, but with this moderation, that as first faults were freely pardoned, relapses were corrected by rigorous chastisements. They had many good laws, most of which they owed to Cyrus and Darius son of Hystaspes. They had maxims of government, regular councils to maintain them, and a great subordination in all employments. When they said that the grandees who composed the council were the eyes and ears of the prince, they admonished at once the prince, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses not to lie supinely idle, but in order to act by their means; and the ministers, that they were not to act

Plat. Alcib. 1. Herod. lib. i.

Herod. iii.

Herod. i.

Plat. de leg. iii. Est. i. 13.

Xeno. Cyrop. viii.

Est. i. 13.

for themselves, but for the prince, who was their head and for the body of the state. The ministers were to be learned in the ancient maxims of the monarchy. The register, where past transactions were kept, served for a rule to posterity. There were recorded the services that every one had performed, lest, to the shame of the prince, and the great misfortune of the state, they should have remained unrewarded. It was an excellent way of attaching individuals to the public weal, to teach them, that they were never to sacrifice for themselves only, but for the king, and the whole state, whereof each was a member with the rest. One of the prince's first cares was to make agriculture flourish; and the Satraps, whose province was best improved, had the greatest share in his favour. As there were officers appointed for the direction of arms, so were there also for inspecting into rural labours: these were two offices of a similar nature, one whereof had the care of guarding the country, and the other that of improving it. The prince protected them with an almost equal affection, and made them jointly concur to the public good. Next to those who had gained some advantage in war, the most honoured were they who had brought up many children. The respect instilled into the Persians from their childhood, for the royal authority, went even to excess; for they mixed adoration with it, and seemed rather slaves than subjects submitted by reason to a lawful power: but such was the turn of the Easterns, and perhaps the lively and violent disposition of those people required a more steady and absolute government.

Ibid. vi. 1.

Herod. i.

Xeno. Oecon.

Herod. i.

The manner in which the king's children were bred up is admired by Plato, and proposed to the Grecians as the model of a perfect education. At seven years of age they were taken out of the hands of the eunuchs, in order to be taught riding, and trained to the chace. At the age of fourteen, when the mind begins to form, there are given them, for their instructers, four of the most virtuous and wisest men in the kingdom. The

Plat. Alcib. i.

first, says Plato, instructed them in magic, that *is*, in their language, the worship of the Gods, according to the ancient maxims, and according to the laws of Zoroastres son of Oromases. The second accustomed them to speak the truth and to do justice. The third taught them not to suffer themselves to be overcome by sensual pleasures, that so they might always be free, and truly kings, masters of themselves, and of their desires. The fourth fortified their courage against fear, which would have enslaved them, and deprived them of that confidence so necessary for command. The young lords were brought up at the king's gate along with his children. Particular care was taken, that they should neither see nor hear any thing unhandsome. The king took an account of their conduct, which was followed by his order for rewards and punishments. The youth, beholding them, learned betimes, the science of obedience and command. With so fine an institution, what was not to be expected from the kings of Persia, and their nobles, had as great care been taken to conduct them in their riper years, as had been to instruct them in their infancy? But the corrupt manners of the nation soon drew them into pleasures, which no education is proof against. It must however be confessed, that, notwithstanding that effeminacy of the Persians, notwithstanding the care they took of their beauty and dress, they did not want bravery. They always valued themselves upon it, and have given signal proofs of it. The military art had among them the preference it deserved, as being that under the shelter of which all others may be quietly exercised. But never did they understand the main part, nor know what may be done in an army, by strictness of discipline, a proper disposition of the troops, regular marches and encampments, and in short, a certain conduct which makes those great bodies move readily, and without confusion. They thought they had done every thing, when they had gathered together, without any manner of

Xeno. de exped. Cyri. jun. lib. i.

Xeno. Oecon.

choice, an immense people, who marched to battle resolutely enough, but without order; and who were incumbered with an infinite multitude of useless persons, whom the king and grandees trailed after them, only for the sake of pleasure: for so great was their effeminacy, that they must find in the army the same magnificence, and the same delights as in the places where the court made its usual residence; so that the kings marched attended by their wives, their concubines, their eunuchs, and every thing that ministered to their pleasures. The gold and silver plate, and valuable furniture followed in prodigious abundance, and in short, the whole train that such a life requires. The army composed in this manner, and already embarrassed by the excessive multitude of its soldiers, was overburdened with the immoderate number of those who did not fight at all. In this confusion, it was impossible to move in concert: orders never came in time; and in an action every thing went as it might, nor was any body able to help it. Add to this also, that they were obliged to finish quickly their campaigns, and to pass rapidly through a country: for such an immense body, craving not only what was necessary for life, but also what conduced to pleasure, consumed every thing in a very little time, and it is hard to conceive whence it could find subsistence.

Yet with this great apparatus did the Persians astonish the nations who knew war no better than themselves. Even those who understood it, were either weakened by their own divisions, or overpowered by the multitude of their enemies; and thus it was that Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, of her wise institutions, and of the conquests of her Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. It was no hard matter for them to subdue the Lesser Asia, and even the Grecian colonies which the softness of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to Greece herself, they found what they never before had seen, a regular militia, understanding chiefs, soldiers accustomed to

live on little, bodies inured to hardship, which wrestling, and the other exercises usual in that country, rendered alert; and armies moderate indeed, but like to those vigorous bodies that seem all nerves, and are full of spirits; moreover, so well commanded, and so compliant to the orders of their generals, that one would have thought the soldiers had all but one and the same soul, so great concert did there appear in their motions.

But what was greatest of all in Greece, was a steady and provident policy, which knew where to abandon, where to hazard, and where to defend; and more than that, a courage, which the love of liberty, and of their country, rendered invincible.

The Grecians, naturally full of spirit and courage, had been early cultivated by kings and colonies from Egypt, who having settled in the first times in different parts of the country, had every where diffused that excellent polity of the Egyptians. Thence it was they had learned bodily exercises, such as wrestling, running horse-courses, chariot races, and the other exercises, which they brought to perfection by the glorious crowns of the Olympic games. But the best thing the Egyptians had taught them, was to be docile, and submit themselves to be formed by the laws for the public good. It was not private persons, who mind only their own affairs, and feel the calamities of the state only so far as they share in them themselves, or as the peace of their family is disturbed by them. The Greeks were taught to consider themselves and families as a part of a greater body, which was the body of the state. Fathers brought up their children in this principle, and children learned from their cradle, to look upon their country as a common mother, to whom they belonged, even more than to their parents. The word civility signified, among the Grecians, not only the mutual kindness and difference which render men sociable: the civil man was no other than a good citizen, who considers himself

always as a member of the state, who submits himself to the guidance of the laws, and conspires with them towards the public good, without making the least injurious attempt upon any body. The ancient kings which Greece had had in different countries, as Minos, Cecrops, Theseus, Codrus, Temenes, Ctesiphon, Eurysthenes, Patroclus, and such like, had diffused this spirit through the whole nation. They were all popular, not by flattering the people, but by prompting their welfare, and causing law to reign amongst them.

What shall I say of the severity of the judicators? Was there ever a more venerable tribunal than that of the Areopagus, so revered in all Greece, that the gods themselves were said to have appeared before it? It has been famous from the earliest ages; and Cecrops had probably founded it upon the model of the tribunals of Egypt. No court hath preserved so long the reputation of its ancient severity, and deceitful eloquence was ever banished from it.

The Grecians, thus polished by degrees, thought they were capable of governing themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics. But wise lawgivers, who arose in every country, a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, a Philolaus, and so many others noted in history, hindered liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws simply wrote, and small in number, kept the people in their duty, and made them concur to the common good of the country.

The notion of liberty, that such a conduct inspired, was admirable. For the liberty, which the Greeks figured to themselves, was a liberty subject to law, that is, to reason itself acknowledged by all the people. They would not allow men to have power among them. The magistrates, feared during the time of their office, returned to the condition of private persons, retaining no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was regarded as sole

mistress; she it was that appointed the magistrates, regulated their power, and, in fine, punished their mal-administration.

It is not here the business to inquire whether these notions be as solid, as they are specious: however, Greece was charmed with them, and preferred the inconveniences of liberty to those of a lawful subjection, though in reality much smaller. But as every form of government hath its advantages, that which Greece reaped from hers, was, that her citizens were the more attached to their country, that they managed it in common, and that every private person could attain to the highest honours.

What philosophy did to preserve the state of Greece, is incredible: the more free those people were, the more was it necessary to establish, upon good principles, the rules of manners, and of society. Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a vast many others, stored Greece with those excellent precepts. There were some extravagants who assumed the name of philosophers; but those who were followed, were they who taught to sacrifice private interest, and life itself, to the general interest and safety of the state; and it was the most common maxim of the philosophers, that men ought either to retire from public affairs, or have regard only to the public good.

But why should I talk of philosophers? The poets themselves, who were in the hands of all the people, instructed them still more than they entertained them. The most renowned of conquerors regarded Homer as a master who taught him the art of reigning. That great poet taught no less to obey than to be a good citizen. He, and so many other poets, whose works are no less solid than entertaining, celebrated none but such arts as are useful to human life, breathe nothing but the public weal, the native country, society, and that admirable civility which we have explained.

When Greece thus educated beheld the Asiatics with their delicacy, dress, and beauty, like that of women, she had them in the highest contempt. But their form of government having no other rule than the will of the prince, which was above all laws, and those even the most sacred, inspired her with horror; and nothing was more odious to all Greece, than the barbarians.

This hatred was hereditary to the Greeks from the earliest times, and become in a manner natural to them. One of the things that made Homer's poetry liked, was, that he sung the victories and advantages of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is, pleasure, wanton love, and effeminacy. On the side of Greece were, Juno, that is, gravity with conjugal affection; Mercury with eloquence; Jupiter and wise policy. On Asia's side was Mars impetuous and brutal, or war carried on with fury: on the Grecian side was Pallas, or the art military, and bravery conducted by judgment. Greece from that time had always thought understanding and true courage her native portion. She could not bear that Asia should pretend to subdue her; for by submitting to such a yoke, she would have thought she subjected virtue to voluptuousness, the mind to the body, and true courage to a mad force, which consisted only in multitude. Isoc. Paneg.

Greece was full of these sentiments, when she was attacked by Darius, son of Hystaspes, and by Xerxes, with armies whose numbers seem fabulous, they were so enormously great: straightway every one prepares to defend his liberty. Though all the cities of Greece were so many republics, the common interest united them, and the only dispute among them was, who should do most for the public. The Athenians made no scruple to abandon their city to pillage and the flames; and after saving their old men, their wives, and their children, they clapped on shipboard every soul that was capable of bearing arms. To stop the

Persian army for some days at a difficult pass, and to make it feel what Greece was, an handful of Lacedemonians flew with their king to meet certain death; and died contented, after sacrificing to their country an infinite number of those barbarians, and setting their countrymen an example of unparalleled resolution. Against such armies and such a conduct, Persia found herself weak, and experienced several times to her cost, what discipline can do against confused numbers, and bravery guided by skill, against a blind impetuosity.

Persia, so often conquered, had nothing left for it, but to sow division among the Grecians; and the very condition they were in through their victories, rendered the attempt easy. As fear had kept them united, victory and confidence broke the union. Accustomed as they were, to fight and to conquer, when they had no more to fear from the power of the Persians, they turned their arms against one another. But we must explain a little further the state of the Greeks, and this secret of the Persian policy.

Plat. de leg. iii.

Among all the republics whereof Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedemon were incomparably the chief. There could not be more wit than shone at Athens, nor strength than reigned at Lacedemon. Athens was set upon pleasure, the life of Lacedemon was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty: but at Athens liberty run naturally into licentiousness; and being confined by strict laws at Lacedemon, the more it was strained at home, the more did it seek to extend its sway abroad. Athens wanted also to rule, but from another principle; a mixture of interest with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the sea whereon she reigned, had enriched her. In order to keep sole mistress of commerce, there was nothing that she would not bear down; and her riches, which inspired her with this desire, furnished her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedemon, money was despised. As all her laws

tended to make her a martial state, the glory of arms was the only charm, that captivated the minds of her citizens. Hence she naturally desired to command; and the more she was above interest the more she gave way to ambition.

Lacedemon, by her regular life, was steady in her maxims and designs. Athens was more sprightly, and the people there were too much masters. Philosophy and the laws wrought indeed fine effects upon so excellent dispositions, but reason alone was not sufficient to restrain them. A wise Athenian, who admirably well understood the nature of his countrymen, informs us that fear was necessary for those too lively and free spirits; and that there was no such thing as governing them, when the victory at Salamis had secured them against the Persians. Plat. de leg. iii.

Then two things were their undoing: the glory of their great actions, and the security in which they thought themselves. The magistrates were no longer regarded; and as Persia was distressed by an excessive subjection, Athens, says Plato, felt the evils of an excessive liberty.

These two great republics, so opposite in manners and conduct, embarrassed each other in the design they both had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, still more by the contrariety of their interests, than by the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities chose the dominion of neither: for besides that, every one wished to preserve its liberty, they found the empire of both commonwealths very uneasy. That of Lacedemon was harsh: there was somewhat savage observable in her people. Too rigid a government, and a life too laborious, rendered the spirits too proud, austere, and imperious: add to this, that they must resolve never to be at peace under the dominion of a city, which being formed for war, could no way preserve itself but by continuing it with- Arist. Pol. viii. 4. Id. vii. 14.

Xenop. de Rep. Lac. Plat. de Rep. viii.

out intermission. Thus the Lacedemonians would by all means command, and every body dreaded lest they should. The Athenians were naturally more mild and agreeable. There was no scene more delightful than their city, where feasts and games were perpetual, where wit, liberty, and the passions, daily afforded new spectacles. But their unequal conduct displeased their allies, and was still more insupportable to their subjects. These had to bear with the humours of a flattered people, which are, according to Plato, more dangerous than those of a prince corrupted by flattery.

These two cities never suffered Greece to be at rest. You have seen the Peloponnesian war, and the others, always caused or kept up by the jealousies of Lacedemon and Athens. But those same jealousies which disturbed Greece, proved in some respect her support, and prevented her falling into the dependence of either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state of Greece. So the whole mystery of their policy was to keep up her jealousies, and foment her divisions. Lacedemon, being the more ambitious, was the first that engaged them in the quarrels of the Grecians. They took part in them with the view of making themselves masters of the whole nation, and striving industriously to weaken the Grecians by one another, they waited only the proper moment to overwhelm them altogether. By this time the cities of Greece regarded in their wars none but the king of Persia, whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they had already counted themselves his subjects: but it was impossible for the ancient spirit of Greece not to awaken, now upon the brink of falling into slavery, and into the hands of barbarians. Some petty Grecian kings attempted to oppose that great king, and to lay waste his empire. With a small army, but trained in the discipline we have seen, Agesilaus, king of Lacedemon, struck terror into the Persians in the

Plat. de leg. iii. Isoc. Paneg. &c.

Polyb. lib. iii. c. 6.

Lesser Asia, and showed it possible to pull them down. Greece's divisions alone put a stop to his conquests: but it happened in those times that the younger Cyrus, brother to Artaxerxes, revolted against him. He had ten thousand Greeks, in his troops, who alone could not be broken in the general route of his army. He was killed in battle, and, as is said, by Artaxerxes's own hand. Our Greeks found themselves without a protector in the midst of the Persians, and on the confines of Babylon. Yet Artaxerxes victorious could neither oblige them to lay voluntarily down their arms, nor force them to it. They formed the bold resolution of crossing his whole empire in a body, in order to return into their own country, and actually effected it. All Greece was then more sensible than ever, that she trained up an invincible soldiery to which every thing must yield, and that nothing but her own divisions could subject her to an enemy too weak to resist her when united. Philip of Macedon, a prince of equal conduct and courage, so well improved the advantages, which a kingdom, small indeed, but united, and where the royal power was absolute, gave him over so many divided cities and commonwealths, that at last, partly by stratagem, partly by strength, he rendered himself the most powerful of all Greece, and obliged all the Grecians to march under his standards against the common enemy. He was slain in those junctures; but Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom and designs.

He found the Macedonians not only trained, but also triumphant, and become by so many successes almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the other Greeks were beyond the Persians and such like people.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in his time, was just, brave, generous, beloved by his people; and wanted neither parts, nor spirit to execute his designs. But if you compare him with Alexander, his parts with that piercing and sublime genius, his bravery with

the exalted constancy of that invincible courage, which found itself animated by obstacles; with that immense ardour of advancing the honour of his name, which made him undervalue all hazards, all toils, nay a thousand deaths, for the least degree of glory; in fine, with that confidence that made him feel in the bottom of his heart, that every thing must give way to him, as to a man who was destined to be superior to others, a confidence with which he inspired not only his commanders, but even the meanest of his soldiers, whom he raised by that means above difficulties, and above themselves; you will easily judge to which of the two the victory belonged. And if to these things you join the advantages of the Greeks and Macedonians over their enemies, you will own that Persia, attacked by such a hero, and by such armies, could no longer avoid changing its master. Thus you will discover at the same time what ruined the empire of the Persians, and what raised that of Alexander.

Diod. xvii. sect. 1. To facilitate his victory, Persia chanced to lose the only general that she could oppose to the Greeks; and that was Memnon the Rhodian. So long as Alexander had so famous a captain to deal with, he might boast of vanquishing an enemy worthy of him. Instead of hazarding a general battle with the Grecians, Memnon was for disputing all the passes, for cutting off their provisions, for going to attack them at home, that by a vigorous assault there they might be forced to come and defend their country. Alexander however had taken care of it, and the troops he had left with Antipater, were sufficient to guard Greece. But his good fortune delivered him at once out of this difficulty. Just as a diversion was beginning, which already alarmed all Greece, Memnon died, and Alexander put every thing under his feet.

This prince made his entry into Babylon with a pomp that surpassed any thing the world had ever seen; and after revenging Greece, after subduing with incredible expedition all the lands of the Persian do-

minion, to secure his new empire on all sides, or rather to gratify his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he entered into the Indies, where he pushed his conquests farther than that renowned conqueror. But he whom neither desarts, nor rivers, nor mountains were able to stop, was constrained to yield to his toil-sick soldiers, who demanded rest. Obliged to content himself with the proud monuments, which he left on the banks of Araspes, he led back his army by another rout than that he had taken, and subdued all the countries he found in his way.

He returned to Babylon feared and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. But that formidable empire which he had conquered, lasted no longer than his life, which was very short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the vastest designs that man had ever conceived, and with the justest hopes of a prosperous success, he died without having had leisure solidly to settle his affairs, leaving a simpleton brother, and children, minors, incapable of sustaining so great a weight. But what proved most fatal to his house and empire was, that he left captains whom he had taught to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw to what excesses they would go when once he was out of the world: in order to keep them moderate, and for fear of their disappointing his intention, he durst neither name his successor, nor the guardian of his children. He foretold only, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles, and expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion that would follow upon his death.

In fact, you have seen the division of his empire, and the dreadful ruin of his house. Macedon, his ancient kingdom, enjoyed by his ancestors for so many ages, was invaded on all sides as a vacant succession; and after being long the prey of the strongest, went at last to another family. Thus that great conqueror the most renowned and most illustrious that ever was

in the world, was the last king of his race. Had he remained peaceably in Macedon, the greatness of his empire would never have tempted his captains, and he might have left to his children the kingdom of his fathers. But his having been too powerful, was the cause of the destruction to all that belonged to him; and such was the glorious fruit of so many conquests!

His death was the sole cause of this extraordinary revolution. For we must say, to his honour, that if ever man was capable of maintaining so vast an empire, newly conquered, it was doubtless Alexander, seeing he had no less conduct than courage. We should not therefore impute to his faults though he was guilty of some very great ones, the fall of his family, but to mortality alone; if not that it may be said that a man of his humour, whose ambition made him constantly enterprising, would never have found leisure to settle things.

Be this as it will, we see, from his example, that (besides the faults which men might correct, that is, those they commit through passion or ignorance) there is one irremediable failing inseparably annexed to human designs, and that is, immortality. This way every thing may fall in a moment: which forces us to confess, that as the most inherent vice, if I may so speak, and the most inseparable from human things, is their own frailty, he who knows how to preserve and confirm a state, hath attained to a higher pitch of wisdom than he who knows how to conquer, and to win battles.

'Tis needless for me minutely to recount to you, what occasioned the fall of the kingdoms formed out of the wreck of Alexander's empire, namely, those of Syria, Macedon, and Egypt. The common cause of their ruin was, that they were forced to yield to a greater power, which was the Roman. Were we however to consider the last state of those monarchies, we should easily find the immediate causes of their fall; and should see, among other things, that the most powerful of them all, namely that of Syria, after being

shaken by the softness and luxury of the nation, received at last the mortal stroke from the division of its princes.

VI. The Roman empire.

We are at length come to that great empire which swallowed up all the empires of the universe, whence have sprung the greatest kingdoms of the world we dwell in, whose laws we still revere, and with which we must consequently be better acquainted than with all other empires. You are well sensible Sir, that I speak of the Roman empire. You have seen the long and memorable history of it in its whole series. But in order perfectly to understand the causes of Rome's exaltation, and those of the great changes that have happened in its state, be pleased attentively to consider, together with the manners of the Romans, the times, whereon depend all the motions of that vast empire.

Of all the nations of the world, the most fierce and daring, but withal the most regular in its counsels, the most constant in its maxims, the most deliberate, the most laborious, and in fine, the most patient, was the Roman people.

From all this was formed the best soldiery, and a policy the most foreseeing, most steady, and best pursued that ever was.

The first principle of a Roman, was the love of liberty, and of his country. The one of these made him love the other; for by loving liberty, he loved also his country, as a mother which brought him up in sentiments equally generous and free.

Under the notion of liberty, the Romans figured to themselves, with the Greeks, a state where none was subject to any thing but the law, and where the law was more powerful than men.

Moreover, although Rome was born under a regal government, she enjoyed even under her kings, a liberty scarcely consistent with a regular monarchy. For, besides that the kings were elective, and that the election was made by the whole people, it belonged also

to the people assembled, to ratify the laws, and to decree peace or war. There were even some particular cases, wherein the kings gave up the sovereign judgment to the people; as witness Tullus Hostilius, who daring neither to condemn nor acquit Horatius, loaded at once with honour for having conquered the Curiatii, and with shame for having killed his sister, caused him to be judged by the people. So the kings had properly no more than the command of the armies and the power of calling lawful assemblies, of proposing matters there, of maintaining the laws, and of executing the public decrees.

When Servius Tullius formed the design, which you have seen, of reducing Rome into a commonwealth, he increased the love of liberty in a people already so free; and hence you may judge how jealous the Romans were of it, when they had tasted it entire under the consuls.

It still shocks us to see in history the dreadful steadiness of the consul Brutus, when he caused his two sons to be put to death before his eyes, for having suffered themselves to be drawn into the secret practices the Tarquins were carrying on at Rome, in order to recover their dominion there. How strongly must the people be conformed in the love of liberty, upon seeing that severe consul sacrifice his own family to it? We need no longer wonder if they despised at Rome the efforts of the neighbouring nations, who attempted to restore the banished Tarquins. In vain did king Porsenna take them into his protection. The Romans, almost starved, made him to know, by their resolution, that they would at least die free. The people were still more resolute than the senate; and Rome unanimously sent word to that powerful king, who had reduced her to the last extremity, that he might give over interceding for the Tarquins, since being resolved to hazard every thing for her liberty, she would sooner receive her enemies than her tyrants. Porsenna astonished at the spirit of the people, and the more than human boldness of some pri-

Dion. Hal. lib. v.

Tit. Liv. 12. 13. 15.

vate persons, resolved to let the Romans peaceably enjoy a liberty which they knew so well how to defend.

Liberty was to them therefore a treasure which they preferred to all the riches in the world. And so have you seen, that in their beginnings, and even when they were very far advanced, poverty was no evil to them: on the contrary, they looked upon it as the means of preserving their liberty more entire, there being nothing more free or independent, than a man who can live upon little, and who, without expecting aught from the protection or bounty of others, founds his subsistence upon nothing but his industry and labour.

And this did the Romans. To breed cattle, to till the ground, to take as much as they could from themselves, to live sparing and laborious: such was their manner of life; and thus did they support their families, whom they inured to such like hardy occupations.

Livy might well say, that there never was a people, among whom frugality, or parsimony, or poverty, were longer had in honour. The most illustrious senators, to behold only their outside, differed little from the meanest peasants, and had no show, nor majesty, but in public, and in the senate. And indeed, they were found occupied in husbandry, and the other cares of a country life, when sent for to head armies. Such instances are frequent in the Roman history. Carius and Fabricius, those great captains who vanquished Pyrrhus, so rich a king had only earthen plate; and the former, to whom the Samnites offered plate of gold and silver, answered, that his delight lay not in possessing it, but in commanding those that did. After triumphing, and enriching the commonwealth with the spoils of its enemies, they had not wherewithal to bury them. This moderation continued even during the Punic wars. In the first, we see Regulus, the general of the Roman armies, asking his discharge of the senate, in order to go and cultivate his farm, that had been neglected during his absence. After the Tit. Liv. Ep. lib. xviii.

overthrow of Carthage, we see also great examples of the primitive simplicity. Æmilius Paulus, who augmented the public treasury by the rich treasure of the kings of Macedon, lived up to the rules of the ancient frugality, and died a beggar. Mummius, when he destroyed Corinth, gained only for the use of the public, the riches of that opulent and voluptuous city. Thus riches were despised; and the moderation and integrity of the Roman generals were the admiration of the vanquished nations.

Cic. Off. ii.

Yet in this great love of poverty the Romans spared nothing upon the grandeur and beauty of their city. In their very beginnings, the public works were such, as Rome was not ashamed of, even when she saw herself mistress of the world. The capitol built by Tarquin the proud, and the temple erected to Jupiter in that fortress, were, from that time, worthy the majesty of the greatest of Gods, and of the future glory of the Roman people. Every thing else was correspondent to this grandeur. The chief temples, the markets, the baths, the public places, the highways, the aqueducts, the very sinks and common sewers of the city had a magnificence that would seem incredible, were it not attested by all historians, and confirmed by the remains we see of them. What shall I say of the pomp of the triumphs, of the religious ceremonies, of the games and shows that were exhibited to the people? In a word, every thing that was for the service of the public, every thing that could give the people a high notion of their common country, was executed with profusion, as far as the time could permit. Parsimony reigned only in private families. He who augmented his revenues, and rendered his lands more fertile by his industry and labour, who was the best economist, and most self-denied, esteemed himself the most free, the most powerful, and the most happy.

Tit. Liv. i. 53, 55, 56, vi. 5. Dion. Hal. iii. iv. Tac. Hist. iii. 72. Plin. xxxvi. 15. Dion. Hal. vii. Ant. Rom.

There is nothing farther from such a life than softness. Every thing tended rather to the other extreme, to wit, hardness. And indeed the manners of

the Romans had naturally something, not only rude, but even savage and fierce. But they neglected nothing to bring themselves under the power of good laws, and the people the most jealous of its liberty the world ever saw, proved at the same time the most submissive to its magistrates and to lawful authority.

The soldiery of such a people could not fail to be admirable, where with dauntless hearts and vigorous bodies, there prevailed so ready and exact an obedience.

The military laws were hard but necessary. Victory proved dangerous, and often mortal to those who won it contrary to orders. It was death for a man not only to fly, to part with his arms, to leave his rank, but even to stir, so to speak, or to make the least motion without the command of the general. He who laid down his arms to the enemy, who chose rather to be taken, than to die gloriously for his country, was judged unworthy of any manner of assistance. For ordinary, prisoners were no longer counted among the citizens; but were left to the enemy, as members cut off from the commonwealth. You have read in Florus and Cicero the story of Regulus, who persuaded the senate, at the expense of his own life, to abandon the prisoners to the Carthaginians. In the war with Hannibal, and after the loss of the battle of Cannæ, that is, when Rome, drained by so many losses, was in greatest want of men, the senate chose rather to arm, contrary to its custom, eight thousand slaves, than to ransom eight thousand Romans, which would have cost no more than the new levies to be made. But in the exigency of affairs, it was established more than ever an inviolable law, that a Roman Soldier must conquer or die.

Flor. lib 2 Cic. de Off. iii

Polyb. vi 56. Tit. Liv. xxii. 57, 58.

Cic. de Off. iii.

By virtue of this maxim the Roman armies, though defeated and broken, fought and rallied to the last; and as Sallust observes, there are to be found among the Romans more men punished for fighting without orders, than for giving ground and quitting their posts;

Sallust. de bel. Catil.

so that their courage had more need to be restrained, than excited.

To valour they joined wit and invention. Besides their being of themselves diligent and ingenious, they knew how to profit wonderfully by every thing they saw in other nations, that was commodious for encampment, for the order of battle, and even for the kind of arms, in a word, for facilitating as well the attack as defence. You have seen in Sallust and other authors what the Romans learned from their very enemies. Who does not know that they learned from the Carthaginians the invention of the galleys with which they beat them, and, in short, that they got from all the nations they were acquainted with, wherewithal to overcome them?

In fact, it is certain from their own confession that the Gauls surpassed them in strength of body, and yielded not to them in courage. Polybius lets us see, that in a certain decisive action, the Gauls, besides being superior in number, showed more resolution than the Romans, however determined they might be; and yet do we find in that very action those Romans, inferior in every thing else, get the better of the Gauls, because they had the skill to make choice of better arms, to range themselves in better order, and to make better use of their time in the engagement. This you may see one day more exactly in Polybius; and you have often yourself observed in Cesar's Commentaries, that the Romans, commanded by that great man, subdued the Gauls still more by the stratagems of the military art, than by downright bravery. The Macedonians, so jealous of preserving the ancient order of their soldiery, formed by Philip and Alexander, imagined their phalanx invincible, and could not persuade themselves that human wit was capable of contriving any thing stronger. Nevertheless, the same Polybius, and Titus Livius after him, have demonstrated, that to consider only the nature of the Roman armies, and those of the Macedonians, the lat-

Polyb. lib. 28. & seq.

Polyb. xvii. in excerp. p. 24 & seq.

ter could not fail of being beat at the long run; because the Macedonian phalanx, which was but one huge square battalion, very thick on every side, could not move but all of a piece; whereas the Roman army, being divided into small bodies, was readier and more fitted for all sort of motions. Tit. Liv. ix. 19. xxxi. 39. &c.

The Romans therefore found out, or they very soon learned, the art of dividing armies into several batalions and squadrons, and of forming bodies of reserve, whose disposition is so proper for pushing or supporting what gives way on one side or the other. Set the Macedonian phalanx against troops thus disposed: that huge and unwieldy machine will be terrible indeed to an army upon which it shall fall with its whole weight; but, as speaks Polybius, it cannot long preserve its natural propriety, that is, its solidity and consistence, because it must have places proper, and so to say, made on purpose; and for want of finding them, it embarrasses itself, or rather breaks itself by its own motion. Add to this, that being once broke through, it can never rally again, whereas the Roman army, divided into its small bodies, makes the best of all places, and adapts itself to them; it joins and parts at pleasure; it easily files off, and meets again without difficulty; it is fit for detachments, for rallyings, for all manner of conversions and evolutions, which it performs, either whole or in part, as is requisite; in short, it has more different movements, and consequently more action and strength than the phalanx. Conclude we then with Polybius, that the phalanx must needs give way to it, and that Macedon must be overcome.

'Tis a pleasure, Sir, to speak to you of those things wherein you are so well instructed by excellent masters, and which you see practised under the direction of Lewis the Great, in so admirable a manner, that I I don't know whether the Roman art of war had ever any thing more perfect. But without making it enter the lists with the French art military, I shall content

myself with having shown you, that the Roman art of war, whether we mind the very science of taking advantages, or only consider its extreme strictness in causing all the orders of war to be observed, far surpassed any thing that had appeared in preceding ages.

After Macedon, we need say no more of Greece. You have seen that Macedon held there the first place, and so it teaches you to judge of the rest. Athens produced nothing since Alexander's time. The Etolians, who signalized themselves in divers wars, were rather froward than free, and rather brutal than brave. Lacedemon had made its last effort for war, in bringing forth Cleomenes; as had the Achean league, in producing Philopemen. Rome never fought against those two great captains; but the latter, who lived in the days of Hannibal and Scipio, upon seeing the Roman progress in Macedonia, judged rightly that the liberty of Greece was about to expire, and that nothing remained for him but to retard the moment of its fall. Thus the most warlike nations yielded to the Romans. The Romans triumphed over courage in the Gauls, over courage and skill in the Greeks, and over both courage and skill, supported by the most refined conduct, in triumphing over Hannibal; so that nothing ever equalled them in war.

Plut. in Philop.

And indeed they had nothing in all their government, that they so much boasted of as their military discipline. They always considered it as the foundation of their empire. Martial discipline was the first thing that appeared in their state, and the last that was lost in it: so deeply was it grafted in the constitution of their republic.

One of the most beautiful parts of the Roman exercise of war was, that false bravery never met with praise. The maxims of false honour, that have been the ruin of so many among us, were never so much as known in a nation so greedy of glory. 'Tis observed

Polyb. l. 13.

of Scipio and of Cesar, the two first warriors and bravest men amongst the Romans, that they never exposed themselves but with caution, and when urgent necessity required it. No good was expected from a general, who had not the sense to know the care he ought to take of his person; and actions of extraordinary resolution were reserved for real service. The Romans would have no battles hazarded disadvantageously, nor victories at the expense of too much blood; so that nothing could be more resolute, nor at the same time better husbanded, than were the Roman armies. Id. 22.

But as it is not sufficient to understand war, if there is not a wise council to direct when to undertake it, and to keep domestic affairs in good order, I must also propose to your observation the profound policy of the Roman senate. To take it in the best times of the commonwealth, there never was an assembly where affairs were treated with maturer deliberation with profounder secrecy, with a longer forecast, or with a greater unanimity and zeal for the public good.

The candid penman of the book of Maccabees hath not scrupled to declare this, and to commend the eminent prudence and vigorous counsels of that wise assembly, where none claimed authority but by reason, and all whose members conspired to the public service without partiality or jealousy. 1 Mac. viii. 13, 16.

As for secrecy, Livy gives us a notable instance of it. When they were meditating a war against Perseus, Eumenes, king of Pergamus, an enemy of that prince, came to Rome to confederate with the senate against him. He made his proposals in full assembly, and the affair was determined by the voices of a company consisting of three hundred persons. Who would think that the secret should have been kept, and that nothing was ever known of the consultation till four years after, when the war was ended? But what is most surprising, is, that Perseus had his am- Tit. Liv. xli. 14.

bassadors at Rome to observe the motions of Eumenes. All the cities of Greece and Asia, who feared being involved in the quarrel, had also sent theirs, and all laid their heads together to discover an affair of such consequence. Amidst so many cunning agents, the senate was impenetrable. To make a secret be kept, there was never any need of punishments, nor of forbidding correspondence with foreigners, under rigorous pains or penalties. Secrecy recommended itself, as it were, and by its own importance.

It is a thing surprizing in the conduct of Rome, to see the people always look upon the senate with jealousy, and nevertheless refer every thing to it on extraordinary occasions, and especially in times of great danger. Then were all the people seen to turn their eyes upon that wise assembly, and expect its resolutions as so many oracles.

A long experience had taught the Romans, that thence had proceeded all the counsels that had saved the state. In the senate were preserved the ancient maxims, and the spirit, so to speak, of the commonwealth. There were formed the designs which were justified by their own consequence; and what was most noble in the senate is, that they never took more vigorous measures than in the greatest extremity.

Dion. Hal. viii. Tit. Liv. ii. 38. It was in the most dismal state of the republic, when yet but weak, and in her infancy, she found herself at once divided at home by the tribunes, and pressed abroad by the Volsci, whom the provoked Coriolanus led on against his country. Those people, ever beat by the Romans, hoped to revenge themselves now, as they had at their head the greatest man of Rome, the most skilful in war, the most liberal, and the most abhorrent of injustice; but withal, the most hardhearted, the most difficult, and the most exasperated. They would make themselves citizens by force, and after great conquests, now masters of the field and of the country, they threatened universal destruction, if their demand was not complied with.

Rome had neither army nor commanders; and nevertheless, in that sad situation, and while she had every thing to fear, did the senate suddenly issue out that bold decree, that they would sooner perish than yield any thing to an armed enemy, and that they would grant them equitable terms, after they had withdrawn their arms.

Coriolanus's mother, who was sent to soften him, told him, amongst other arguments: "Do you not know the Romans; Do you not know, my son, that you will gain nothing of them but by fair means, and that you never will obtain any thing, either more or less, of them by force?" The stern Coriolanus suffered himself to be overcome: it cost him his life, and the Volsci chose other generals; but the senate stood firm to its maxims, and the decree which it made, of granting nothing by force, passed into a fundamental law of the Roman policy, from which there is not one instance of the Romans departing in all the after-times of the commonwealth. Among them in their lowest circumstances, faint-hearted counsels were not so much as heard. They were always more tractable when victorious, than when vanquished: so well did the senate know how to maintain the ancient maxims of the republic, and so well did it know how to confirm the rest of the citizens in them.

Dion. Hal. viii.

Polyb. vii. 56. Excer. de legat. 69. Dion. Hal. viii.

From that same spirit proceeded the resolutions taken so many times in the senate, of subduing the enemy by open force, without making use of the arts and stratagems, even such as are allowed in war: which the senate did neither out of a false point of honour, nor through ignorance of the laws of war; but because it judged nothing more effectual to humble a haughty enemy, than to take away its whole opinion of its own strength, that so being vanquished in the very heart, they should see no safety but in the clemency of the victor.

Thus was established through all the earth that high opinion of the Roman arms. The belief universally

spread, that nothing stood before them, made the arms drop out of their enemies hands, and afforded invincible aid to their allies. You see what a like opinion of the French arms does all over Europe; and the world, astonished at the king's exploit, confesses, that to himself alone it belonged to set bounds to his conquests.

The conduct of the Roman senate, so powerful against the enemy, was no less admirable in the domestic administration. Those wise senators had sometimes a just condescension for the people: as when in an extreme exigency, they not only taxed themselves higher than the rest, which was usual with them, but also eased the common people of all imposts, adding, "*That the poor paid a sufficient tribute to the commonwealth, by bringing up their children.*" Tit. Liv. ii. 9.

The senate showed by this decree, that it knew wherein consisted the true riches of a state: and so fine a sentiment joined to the testimonies of a paternal tenderness, made so much impression upon the minds of the people, that they became capable of supporting the last extremities for the preservation of their country.

But when the people deserved to be blamed, the senate did it with a gravity and vigour worthy that venerable council; as happened in the difference between the people of Ardea and Aricia. 'Tis a memorable story, and deserves to be related to you. Those two petty nations were at war about some lands that each of them laid claim to. At length, weary of fighting, they agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Roman people, whose equity was revered by all its neighbours. The tribunes were assembled; and the people discovering, in the process of the examination, that those lands claimed by others, belonged by right to itself, adjusted them to themselves. The senate, though satisfied that the people had judged rightly in the main, could not bear that the Romans should have belied their natural generosity, and should Tit. Liv. iii. 71. iv. 7, 9, 10.

have basely deceived the hopes of their neighbours, who had submitted themselves to their arbitration. There was nothing possible that that generous court did not do, to prevent a decision of so pernicious a precedent, where the judges took to themselves the lands contested by the parties. After sentence was given, the men of Ardea, whose right was the most apparent, full of indignation at so iniquitous a judgment, were ready to revenge themselves by force of arms. The senate made no scruple to declare to them publicly, that they were as sensible as themselves, of the injury that had been done them; that indeed it was not in their power to abrogate a decree of the people, but that if after such an abuse they would rely upon the court for the reparation they had reason to expect, the senate would take such care to procure them satisfaction, that they should have no further cause of complaint. The Ardeates relied on the promise. Soon after, there happened to them an affair that might have utterly ruined their city, had it not been for timely succours they received from the Romans by order of the senate, whereby they thought themselves over paid for the territory that had been taken from them, and wanted only an opportunity of thanking so faithful friends. But the senate was not contented, till, by causing them to restore the land which the Roman people had awarded to itself, it abolished the memory of so infamous a judgment.

I shall not here undertake to tell you, how many such actions the senate did: how many perjured citizens, who would not keep their parole, or quibbled about their oaths, it delivered up to the enemy; how many bad counsels, that had met with good success, it condemned: All I shall say is, that that august court inspired nothing but what was great into the Roman people, and gave on all occasions a high notion of its counsels, persuaded, as it was, that reputation was the firmest support of states. Polyb. Tit. Liv. Cic. de Of. iii

We may believe that in a people so wisely directed,

the rewards and punishments were appointed with the greatest consideration. Besides the real service and a zeal for the good of the state, were the surest steps to promotion; military actions had a thousand rewards which cost the public nothing, but which were infinitely precious to private persons, on account of the annexed glory so dear to that warlike people. A crown of gold very thin, but most commonly a crown of oak leaves, or of laurel, or of some yet viler herbage, became inestimable among the soldiers, who knew no more honourable marks than those of virtue, nor any more noble distinction than that which proceeded from glorious actions.

The senate, whose approbation was itself a reward, knew when to praise, and when to blame. Immediately after battle, the consuls, and other generals, bestowed publicly on the soldiers and officers, the praise or the blame they deserved; but themselves waited, in suspense, the judgment of the senate, which judged of the wisdom of the counsels, without suffering themselves to be dazzled by the prosperousness of events. Commendations were valuable, because they were bestowed with judgment. Blame stung generous hearts to the quick, and retained the meanest souls in their duty. The punishments which attended evil actions, kept the soldiers in awe, while rewards and glory, properly dispensed, raised them above themselves.

He who can instil into the mind of a people, patience of hardship, the greatness of their nation, and the love of their country, may boast of having found out the most proper constitution of a state for producing great men. 'Tis doubtless great men that are the strength of an empire. Nature does not fail to raise up, in all countries, exalted geniuses and spirits; but she must be helped to form them. What forms them, what finishes them, is, strong sentiments and noble impressions, which diffuse themselves in all their minds, and pass insensibly from one to another.

What is it that renders our nobility so fierce in fight, and so daring in enterprises? 'Tis the opinion imbibed from their infancy, and established by the unanimous sense of the nation, that a gentleman without courage degrades himself, and is not worthy to breathe the common air. All the Romans were bred up in those sentiments, and the people disputed with the nobles who should act most up to those vigorous maxims. During the best times of Rome, infancy itself was inured to hardship: nothing else was there to be heard of but the greatness of the Roman name. They were obliged to go to war when the republic commanded it, and to toil without ceasing, to encamp winter and summer, to obey without resistance, to die or to conquer. Fathers who trained not up their children in these principles, and so as to render them fit for the service of the state, were called to an account before the magistrates, and brought in guilty of high treason against the public. When things have once got into this way, great men make one another; and if Rome produced more than any other city before her, it was not at all by chance: but that the Roman state, constituted in the manner we have seen, was so to speak, of a complexion necessarily the most fruitful in heroes.

A state which finds itself thus formed, finds itself also at the same time, of an incomparable strength, and never thinks itself without resource. And so do we see that the Romans never despaired of their affairs; neither when Porsenna king of Etruria starved them within their walls; nor when the Gauls, after burning their city, over-ran their whole country, and kept them cooped up in the Capitol; nor when Pyrrhus king of Epirus, as expert as enterprising, terrified them with his elephants, and defeated all their armies; nor when Hannibal, already so many times conqueror, killed them above fifty thousand of their best soldiery in the battle of Cannæ.

Then it was that the consul Terentius Varro, who had just lost, through his own fault, so great a battle, was received at Rome as if he had been victorious, only because in so great a disaster, he had not despaired of the republic's affairs. The Senate thanked him publicly for it, and from that moment resolved, according to the ancient maxims, to hearken, in that their sad situation, to no proposals of peace. The enemy was struck with astonishment; the people again took heart, and imagined they had still some resources, which the senate by its prudence was acquainted with.

In fact, that constancy of the senate, amidst so many misfortunes, which happened one after another, proceeded not so much from an obstinate resolution of never yielding to fortune, as from a profound knowledge of the Roman strength, and of that of the enemy. Rome knew by her census, that is, by the roll of her citizens, ever exactly continued down from Servius Tullius; she knew, I say, all the citizens she had capable of bearing arms, and what she might expect from the youth daily growing up. Thus she husbanded her strength, against an enemy, who came from the borders of Afric, whom time must destroy of itself in a foreign country, where succours were so tardy, and to whom his very victories, which cost him so much blood, must prove fatal. Therefore whatever loss had happened, the senate, being always apprized of what good soldiers were left, had only to prolong the time, and never suffered itself to be dismayed. When by the defeat of Cannæ, and by the revolt that followed thereupon, it saw the republic's forces so diminished, that there could hardly have been made any defence, had the enemy pushed forward, it supported itself by its spirit, and without troubling itself about its losses, set itself to watch the motions of the victor. As soon as it was perceived, that Hannibal, instead of pursuing his victory, thought of nothing for sometime but enjoying it, the senate took fresh courage,

and saw plainly, that an enemy capable of balking his fortune, and of suffering himself to be dazzled by his great successes, was not born to overcome the Romans. From that time Rome performed daily the greatest enterprizes; and Hannibal, skilful, courageous, victorious as he was, could not hold out against her.

'Tis easy to judge, by this single event, with whom the advantage at last must remain. Hannibal, flushed with his great successes, thought the taking of Rome too easy a matter, and so grew remiss. Rome amidst her disasters, lost neither courage nor confidence, but undertook greater things than ever. It was presently after the overthrow at Cannæ that she besieged Syracuse and Capua, one of which had been unfaithful to treaties, and the other had withdrawn its allegiance. Syracuse could defend herself neither by her fortifications, nor by the inventions of her Archimedes. Hannibal's victorious army came vainly to the relief of Capua. But the Romans forced that captain to raise the siege of Nola. A little after, the Carthaginians defeated and killed the two Scipios in Spain. In that whole war, there had nothing happened more sensibly affecting, nor more fatal to the Romans. Their loss made them exert their last efforts; young Scipio, son to one of those generals, not contented with retrieving the Roman affairs in Spain, went and carried the war to the Carthaginians, into their own city, and gave the finishing stroke to their empire.

The state of that city did not permit that Scipio should find the same resistance there, that Hannibal met with from Rome; and of this you will be convinced, if you look a little into the constitution of the two cities.

Rome was in its vigour; and Carthage which had begun to decline, was only supported by Hannibal. Rome had an united senate, and at this time precisely prevailed that unanimity so commended in the book of

Polyb. i. 3. vi. 49. &c.

Maccabees. The Senate of Carthage was divided by old irreconcilable factions; and Hannibal's overthrow had been matter of joy to the most considerable part of the great lords. Rome, still poor, and attached to agriculture, bred up an excellent soldiery, who breathed nothing but glory, and whose sole ambition was to raise the Roman name. Carthage, enriched by her trade, saw all her citizens attached to their riches, and no wise exercised in war: whereas the Roman armies were almost all composed of citizens, Carthage on the contrary held it as a maxim, to have none but foreign troops, oftentimes to be as much feared by their pay-masters, as by those against whom they are employed.

These defects proceeded partly from the first institution of the republic of Carthage, and had partly introduced themselves with time. Carthage was ever fond of riches, and Aristotle accuses her of being so wedded to them, as to give her citizens occasion of preferring them to virtue. By this means a republic quite cut out for war, as the same Aristotle observes, came at length to neglect the exercise of it. That philosopher does not censure her for employing only foreign troops; and so it is to be thought she did not fall, till long after, into this error. But riches lead a mercantile state naturally to it: men choose to enjoy their fortunes, and think to find every thing in their money. Carthage fancied herself strong, because she had many soldiers; and had not been able to learn, by so many revolts, which she had met with in the latter times, that there is nothing more unfortunate than a state which is supported only by foreigners, in whom is to be found neither zeal, security, nor obedience.

Arist. Pol. ii. 11.

It is true, the great genius of Hannibal seemed to have remedied the defects of his republic. It is looked upon as next to a prodigy, that, in a foreign country, and during full sixteen years, he never found, not to say a sedition, but even a murmur, in an army wholly

Polyb. xi. 17.

made up of different nations, who, without understanding one another, agreed so well in understanding the orders of their general. But all Hannibal's skill could not support Carthage, when, being attacked within her walls by such a general as Scipio, she found herself without forces. She must needs recall Hannibal, who had no troops left but such as were weakened more by their own victories than by those of the Romans, and who completed their ruin by the length of the march. So Hannibal was beaten, and Carthage, formerly mistress of all Afric, of the Mediterranean, and of the whole commerce of the world, was forced to submit to the yoke that Scipio imposed upon her.

Such was the glorious fruit of the Roman patience! People who gathered resolution and strength in their misfortunes, had great reason to think that all was safe, when hope was not lost: and Polybius hath very well concluded that Carthage must at length do homage to Rome, by the very nature of the two republics.

Now, had the Romans made use of those great qualities, political and military, only to preserve their dominions in peace, or to protect their oppressed allies, as they pretended, they would be as commendable for their equity, as for their valour and prudence. But when they had tasted the sweets of victory, they would have every thing to yield to them, and aspired at nothing less than first to give laws to their neighbours, and afterwards to the whole world.

In order to compass this end, they knew perfectly how to preserve their allies, to unite them together, to sow discord and jealousy among their enemies, to penetrate into their counsels, to discover their intelligences, and to prevent their designs.

They watched not only the motions of their enemies, but also the whole progress of their neighbours; being particularly studious either to divide, or some other way to counterbalance the powers that grew too formidable, or were too great obstacles to their conquests.

So the Grecians were in the wrong, to imagine, *in* Polyb. l. 63. Polybius's time, that Rome aggrandized herself rather by chance than by conduct. They were too fond of their own nation, and too jealous of the people whom they perceived rising above them: or perhaps seeing at a distance the Roman empire advancing so fast, without fathoming the counsels by which that great body moved, they attributed to chance, as the custom of men is, the effects whereof the causes were unknown to them. But Polybius, whose intimate familiarity with the Romans made him get so far into the secret of their affairs, and who so narrowly observed the Roman policy during the Punic wars, was more equitable than the other Grecians, and saw that Rome's conquests were the consequence of a well digested design. For he saw the Romans, from the middle of the Mediterranean, carry their views to all the countries round about, as far as the Spains and Syria; observe what was passing; advance regularly, and step by step; secure their dominion, before they extended it; not burden themselves with too many affairs; dissemble some time, and then declare themselves at a fit opportunity; wait till Hannibal was conquered, for the disarming of Philip king of Macedon, who had favoured him; after having begun the affair, never to be weary, nor satisfied, until it was completely done; not allow the Macedonians a moment's time to recollect themselves; and after having vanquished them, restore by a public decree to Greece, that had been so long captive, the liberty she no longer dreamt of; by this means to spread terror on one hand, and on the other a veneration of their name: this was sufficient to conclude, that the Romans advanced not to the conquest of the world by chance, but by conduct.

Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. ii. This is what Polybius saw in the days of the progress of Rome. Dionysius the Halicarnassian, who wrote after the establishment of the empire, and in the time of Augustus, hath drawn the same conclu ions by resuming, from their origin, the ancient institutions

of the republic, so proper in their own nature to form an invincible and ruling people. You have seen enough of them to enter into the sentiments of those wise historians, and to condemn Plutarch, who being always too partial to his Grecians, ascribes to fortune alone the Roman greatness, and to virtue alone that of Alexander. Plut. Lib. de fort. Alex. & de fort. Rom.

But the more those historians show of design in Rome's conquests, the more do they exhibit injustice in them. This vice is inseparable from the desire of rule, which also for that reason is justly condemned by the precepts of the gospel. But philosophy alone is sufficient to make us understand, that strength is given us in order to preserve our property, and not to usurp that of others. Cicero hath acknowledged this, and the rules he hath given for the making of war are a manifest condemnation of the conduct of the Romans. Cic. de Off. iii.

It is true they appeared pretty equitable at the beginning of their commonwealth. They seemed willing themselves to moderate their warlike humour, by confining it within the bounds which equity prescribed. What could be more excellent, or more sacred, than the college of Feciales or Heralds, whether founded by Numa, as Dionysius the Halicarnassian affirms, or by Ancus Martius, as Livy will have it. This council was established to judge whether a war was just: before the senate proposed it, or the people resolved it, this inquiry into the equity always took place. When the justice of the war was acknowledged, the senate concerted its measures for undertaking it; but first of all they sent to demand in form of the usurper restitution of the premises unjustly siezed upon, and never came to extremities, till after having tried all fair means. A blessed institution, if ever there was one! and which may put Christians to the blush, whom a God, come into the world to pacify all things, hath not been able to inspire with charity and peace. But what avail the best institutions when at length they Dion. Hal. ii. Ant. Rom. Tit. i. Liv. 32.

degenerate into mere ceremonies? The sweets of conquering and commanding soon corrupted in the Romans what honest natural equity had given them. The deliberations of the Feciales came to be but a useless formality among them; and although they exercised towards their greatest enemies acts of the highest equity, and even clemency, ambition suffered not justice, to reign in their counsels.

Moreover, their unjust practices were so much the more dangerous, the better they knew how to palliate them with the specious pretext of equity, and that they insensibly brought kings and nations into servitude, under colour of protecting and defending them.

Let us add to this, that they were cruel to those who resisted them: another quality pretty natural to conquerors, who know that the panic gains more than the half of the conquests. Must power be acquired at this price, and is command so sweet, that men should choose to purchase it by so inhuman actions? The Rom. x. 15. Romans, to spread terror all around, affected to leave dreadful spectacles of cruelty, in the cities they had taken; and to appear merciless to such as waited force; without even sparing kings, whom they put barbarously to death, after leading them in triumph loaded with chains, and dragged after their chariots like slaves.

But if they were cruel and unjust in order to conquer, they governed with equity the subdued nations. They endeavoured to make their government relished by the subjected people, and thought this the best means of securing their conquests. The senate were a check upon the governors, and did justice to the people. That court was regarded as the refuge of the oppressed; and indeed extortion and violence were not known among the Romans till the latter days of the commonwealth, and the moderation of their magistrates was admired over all the earth.

This was therefore none of those brutal and avaricious conquerors, who breathe nothing but plunder, or establish their dominion on the ruin of the con-

quered countries. The Romans bettered all those they took, by making to flourish in them justice, agriculture, commerce, the arts also, and sciences, after they had once got a relish for them.

This it was that gave them the most flourishing, and best established, as well as the most extensive empire that ever was. From Euphrates and Tanais to Hercules's Pillars, and the Atlantic ocean, all lands and seas obeyed them; from the middle, and, as it were, the centre of the Mediterranean, they included the whole extent of that sea, penetrating far and wide into all the states round about, and keeping it as the intermediate communication of their empire. We are still frightened, when we consider, that the nations which make now so formidable kingdoms, all the Gauls, all the Spains, almost all Great Britain, Illyria as far as the Danube, Germany to the Elbe, Africa to its dreadful and impenetrable desarts, Greece, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, all the kingdoms of the Lesser Asia; also those which are contained between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and others which perhaps I forget, or choose not to mention, were during many ages no more than Roman provinces. All the nations of our world, even to the most barbarous, have reverenced their power; and the Romans established almost every where laws and politeness together with their empire.

'Tis a sort of prodigy, that in so vast an empire, which comprehended so many nations and kingdoms, the people should have been so obedient, and revolts so rare. The Roman policy had taken care of this by divers methods which I must explain to you in a few words.

The Roman colonies settled in all quarters of the empire, produced two admirable effects: one, that of ridding the city of a great number of citizens, and most of them poor; the other, that of guarding the principal posts, and accustoming by degrees foreign nations to the Roman manners.

These colonies, which carried their privileges along with them, remained still annexed to the body of the commonwealth, and peopled the whole Roman empire.

But besides the colonies, a great number of cities obtained for their citizens the right of Roman denizens; and being united by their interest to the ruling people, they kept the neighbouring cities in their duty.

The consequence was at length, that all the subjects of the empire thought themselves Romans. The honours of the victorious people communicated themselves by degrees to the vanquished; the senate was open to them, and they might aspire even to the empire. Thus, by the Roman clemency, all nations were but one nation, and Rome was looked upon as their common country.

How greatly were navigation and commerce facilitated by that wonderful union of all the nations of the world under one and the same empire? The Roman society included every thing, and excepting some frontiers, molested sometimes by their neighbours, all the rest of the world enjoyed a profound peace. Neither Greece, nor Asia Minor, nor Syria, nor Egypt, nor, in short, most of the other provinces, were ever without war, but under the Roman empire; that it is easy to apprehend, that so agreeable an intercourse of nations must serve to maintain concord and obedience in the whole body of the empire.

The legions distributed for the guard of the frontiers, by defending it without, secured it within. It was not the custom of the Romans to have citadels in their strong places, nor to fortify their frontiers; and I scarce find this care begin till under Valentinian I. Before that time they placed the strength and security of the empire solely in the troops, which were so disposed that they supported one another. Besides, as they had orders always to lie encamped, the towns were nowise incommoded by them, and the discipline

did not permit the soldiers to straggle over the country. Thus the Roman armies disturbed neither trade nor tillage. They formed in their camps a sort of city, which differed nothing from others, but in that labours were there continual, discipline more severe, and the command steady. They were always ready for the smallest motion; and it was sufficient to keep the people in their duty, only to show them in their neighbourhood that invincible soldiery.

But nothing so much maintained the peace of the empire, as the order of justice. The ancient republic had established it; the emperors and sages explained it upon the same foundations; all the people, even the most barbarous, regarded it with admiration: and thereby was it chiefly that the Romans were judged worthy to be masters of the world. In fine, if the Roman laws have appeared so sacred, that their majesty still subsists, notwithstanding the ruin of the empire, it is because good sense, which controls human life, reigns throughout the whole, and that there is nowhere to be found a finer application of the principles of natural equity.

Notwithstanding this greatness of the Roman name, notwithstanding the profound policy, and all the fine institutions of that famous republic, she bore in her bosom the cause of her ruin, in the perpetual jealousy of the people against the senate, or rather of the Plebeians against the Patricians. Romulus had established this distinction. It was fit that the kings should have some distinguished persons, whom they might attach to their person by particular ties, and by whom they might govern the rest of the people. For this purpose did Romulus select the Fathers, of whom he formed the body of the senate: so they were called, on account of their dignity and age; and from them sprung afterward the Patrician families. Moreover, whatever power Romulus reserved to the people, he had made the Plebians, in many respects, dependent on the Patricians; and that subordination, necessary

Dion. Hal. ii.

Ibid.

to the royalty, had been preserved not only under the kings, but also in the the republic. It was from among the Patricians that the senators were always taken. To the Patricians belonged employments, commands, dignities, even that of the priesthood; and the Fathers, who had been the authors of liberty, did not part with their prerogatives. But jealousy soon took place between the two orders. For I need not here mention the Roman Knights, a third order, as it were a middle rank between the Patricians and petty people, who joined sometimes one side, sometimes the other. It was therefore between these two orders that jealousy arose: it revived on various occasions; but the profound cause that kept it alive, was the love of liberty.

The fundamental maxim of the republic was, to consider liberty as a thing inseparable from the Roman name. A people bred up in this spirit, or to say more, a people who believed itself born to command other nations, and whom Virgil for that reason, calls so nobly, *populum regem*, or a people king, would receive laws from none but itself.

The authority of the senate was judged necessary to moderate the public councils, which, without that qualifier, would have been too tumultuous. But in the main, it lay in the people to give commands, to enact laws to determine peace and war. A people who enjoyed the most essential rights of royalty, entered in some sort into the humour of kings. They were very willing to be counseled, but would not be controuled, by the senate. Whoever appeared too imperious, whoever exalted himself above others, in a word, whoever violated, or seemed to violate, the equality required in a free state, became suspected by that delicate people. The love of liberty, of glory, and of conquests, rendered such spirits hard to manage; and that boldness which prompted them to attempt every thing abroad, could not fail of breeding dissention at home.

Thus Rome, so jealous of her liberty, through that love of liberty which was the foundation of her state, saw division take place amongst all the orders whereof she was composed. Hence those furious jealousies between the senate and people, between the Patricians and Plebeians; the one still alleging, that excessive liberty destroys itself at last; and the other fearing, on the contrary, lest power, which of its own nature is always growing, at length should degenerate into tyranny.

Betwixt these two extremes, a people in other respects so wise, could not find the mean. Private interest, which makes those of any side carry farther than they ought, even what they have begun for the public good, did not suffer them to abide by the moderate counsels. Ambitious and restless spirits excited jealousies, in order to make their advantage of them; and those jealousies, sometimes more secret, sometimes more open, according to the various junctures, but always alive in the bottom of their hearts, at length occasioned that great revolution which happened in the time of Cesar, and the others that succeeded it.

VII. The progression of Rome's revolutions explained.

It will be easy for you to discover all their causes, if, after having rightly apprehended the humour of the Romans, and the constitution of their commonwealth, you take care to observe a certain number of principal events, which, though happening at pretty distant times, have a manifest connexion with each other. Here you have them collected for your greater ease.

Romulus, bred up in war, and reputed the son of Mars, built Rome, and peopled it with persons of all sorts gathered together, shepherds, slaves, robbers, who had come to seek freedom and impunity in the assylum he had opened to all comers: there came some also of better quality, and of better character.

He trained up this wild people in the spirit of attempting every thing by force, and they had by this means the very women whom they married.

By degrees he established order, and restrained

their spirits by salutary laws. He began with religion, which he looked upon as the foundation of states. He made it as serious as solemn, and as modest as the darkness of idolatry would permit. Strange religions and sacrifices, that were not established by the Roman customs, were forbidden. This law was afterwards dispensed with; but it was Romulus's intention that it should be kept, and indeed something of it was always retained.

He selected from amongst all the people, the best of them, to form the public council which he called the senate. He composed it of two hundred senators, whose number was also afterwards augmented; and thence sprung the noble families which were styled Patrician. The others had the name of Plebians, that is, common people.

Dion. Hal. ii.

The senate was to digest and propose all affairs: some it settled sovereignly with the king; but the more general were referred to the decision of the people.

Romulus, in an assembly where a great storm suddenly arose, was torn to pieces by the senators, who thought him too imperious, and the spirit of independence began from thence to appear in that order.

To appease the people, who loved their prince, and give a high notion of the city's founder, the senators gave it out, that the gods had taken him up into heaven, and they caused altars to be erected to him.

Numa Pompilius, the second king, in a long and profound peace, finished the forming of their manners, and the settling of religion upon the same foundations which Romulus had laid.

Tullius Hostilius established by strict regulations, military discipline, and the orders of war, with his successor, Ancus Martius accompanied with sacred ceremonies, in order to render the martial art venerable and religious.

After him, Tarquinius Priscus, to make creatures, augmented the number of senators to three hundred,

where they remained many ages; and he began the grand works which were to promote the public conveniency.

Servius Tullius projected the establishment of a commonwealth, under the command of two annual magistrates, to be chosen by the people.

In the hatred of Tarquin the proud, the royalty was abolished, with horrid execrations against any who should attempt to restore it; and Brutus made the people swear eternally to maintain their liberty.

The memoirs of Servius Tullius were followed in this revolution. Consuls elected by the people from among the Patricians, were made equal to kings, excepting that they were two, who commanded by regular turns, and that they changed yearly.

Collatinus named consul with Brutus, as having been, with him, the author of liberty; though the husband of Lucretia, whose death had given occasion to the change, and more concerned than all others in revenging the outrage she had received, became a suspected person, because he was of the royal family, and so was expelled.

Valerius, substituted in his room, upon returning from an expedition, wherein he had delivered his country from the Veientes and Etrurians, was suspected by the people of affecting tyranny, on account of a house he was building upon an eminence. Not only did he stop the building, but becoming quite popular, though a Patrician, he enacted the law which allows an appeal to the people, and appropriates to them in certain cases the final judgment.

By this new law the consular power was weakened in its origin, and the people extended their privileges.

On the occasion of the execution for debts, practiced by the rich against the poor, the people, rising up against the power of the consuls and senate, made that famous retreat to mount Aventine.

Nothing was talked of but liberty in those assem-

Dion. Hal. vi. blies; and the Roman people did not think itself free, if it had not some lawful ways of withstanding the senate. There was a necessity to grant them peculiar magistrates, called Tribunes of the people, who should have power to assemble them, and to secure them against the authority of the consuls, either by opposition or appeal.

Those magistrates, to get into credit, nourished the division between the two orders, and ceased not to flatter the people, by proposing, that the lands of the conquered countries, or the price that should arise from their sale, should be divided amongst the citizens.

The senate always resolutely opposed those laws so destructive of the state, and insisted that the price of the lands should be awarded to the public treasury.

The people suffered themselves to be led by their seditious magistrates, and nevertheless preserved equity enough to admire the virtue of the great men who withstood them.

Against these domestic dissensions, the senate found no better remedy, than continually to start new occasions of foreign wars. These prevented divisions from being carried to extremity, and reunited the orders in the defence of their country.

So long as the wars succeed, and the conquests increase, the jealousies are renewed.

The two parties tired with so many divisions, which threatened the ruin of the state, agree to make laws for the peace of both, and to establish the equality which ought to prevail in a free city.

Each of the orders claims a right to the enacting of those laws.

The jealousy increased by these pretensions, makes them resolve with one accord to send an embassy into Greece, to inquire into the institutions of the cities of that country, and especially the laws of Solon, which were the most popular. The laws of the XII. Tables

are enacted; and the Decemvirs who digested them were deprived of the power they abused.

Whilst all is quiet, and so equitable laws seem to secure the public peace for ever, dissentions are rekindled by the new pretensions of the people, who aspire at the honours and consulship, till then reserved to the first order.

The law for admitting them to those dignities is proposed. Rather than debase the consulship, the Fathers consent to the creation of three new magistrates, who shall have the authority of consuls, under the name of Military Tribunes; and the people is admitted to this honour.

They, contented with establishing their right, use their victory with moderation, and for some time bestow the command upon Patricians only.

After long disputes, the consulship is again in question; and by degrees the honours become common to both orders, though greater regard is always had to Patricians in the elections.

The wars continue, and the Romans after five hundred years subject the Cisalpine Gauls their principal enemies, and all Italy. App. Præf. op.

Here commence the Punic wars; and things come to such a height, that each of the two jealous nations thinks it cannot stand, but by the fall of the other.

Rome, upon the point of yielding, is chiefly supported during her misfortunes, by the constancy and wisdom of the senate.

At last the Roman patience gets the better: Hannibal is vanquished, and Carthage subdued by Scipio Africanus.

Victorious Rome makes prodigious progress, during two hundred years, both by sea and land, and reduces the whole world under her power.

In these times, and since the ruin of Carthage, the offices, whereof the dignity as well as profit increased with the empire, were stickled for with fury. The ambitious candidates thought of nothing but flattering

the people, and the concord of the orders, kept up by the business of the Punic wars was disturbed more than ever. The Gracchi put every thing in confusion, and their seditious proposals were the beginning of all the civil wars.

Val. Pat. ii. 3. Then men begun to wear arms, and to act by open force in the assemblies of the Roman people, where every one before chose to prevail by lawful methods only, and with liberty of opinion.

The wise conduct of the senate, and the great wars that came upon them, moderated the broils.

Marius a Plebian, and a good soldier, with his military eloquence and seditious harangues, wherein he was continually attacking the pride of the nobles, revived the jealousy of the people, and rose by this means to the highest honours.

Sylla a Patrician put himself at the head of the opposite party, and became an object of jealousy to Marius.

Cabals and corruption now do every thing at Rome. The love of her country, and regard to its laws, become extinguished there.

To crown the misfortunes, the wars of Asia teach the Romans luxury, and encrease their avarice.

At this time, the generals begun to engross the affections of their soldiers, who till then considered only the character they bore of public authority.

Sylla, in the war against Mithridates, suffered his soldiers to enrich themselves, in order to gain them.

Marius, on his side, proposed to his partizans a share of both money and lands.

By this means being master of their troops, the one upon pretence of supporting the senate, and the other under the name of the people, they made a furious war upon each other in the very heart of the city.

The party of Marius and of the people, was totally overthrown, and Sylla rendered himself absolute under the title of Dictator.

He made dreadful massacres, and treated the peo-

ple harshly both by words and actions, even in the lawful assemblies.

When more powerful, and better established than ever, he reduced himself to a private life; but not till he had shown that the Roman people could brook a master.

Pompey whom Sylla had raised, succeeded to great part of his power. He flattered sometimes the people, and sometimes the senate, in order to establish himself; but his inclination and interest attached him at length to the latter party.

Conqueror of the pirates, the Spains, and the whole East, he becomes all-powerful in the commonwealth, and particularly in the senate.

Cesar, who will at least be his equal, turns to the side of the people, and imitating in his consulship the most seditious tribunes, he proposes together with the division of lands, the most popular laws he could contrive.

The conquest of the Gauls carries to the highest pitch the glory and power of Cesar.

Pompey and he unite through interest, and then fall out through jealousy. The civil war breaks out. Pompey imagines that his name alone will support his cause, and neglects himself. Cesar active and provident, gets the victory, and renders himself master.

He makes several trials to see whether the Romans could be accustomed to the name of King: which serve only to render him odious. To aggravate the public hatred, the senate decrees him honours till then unheard of in Rome: so that he is killed in full senate as a tyrant.

Antony his creature, who chanced to be consul at the time of his death, stirred up the people against his murderers, and endeavoured to take advantage of the troubles, in order to usurp the sovereign authority. Lepidus, who had also a great command under Cesar, endeavoured to maintain it. In fine, the young Cesar,

at the age of nineteen, undertook to revenge his father's death, and sought occasion to succeed to his power.

He knew how to serve his own interest by the enemies of his family, and by his very competitors.

His father's troops devote themselves to him, touched with the name of Cesar, and the prodigious largesses he made them.

The senate has no more any power: every thing is done by force, and by the soldiers, who are at the service of whoever gives them most.

In this fatal conjuncture, the triumvirate destroyed all that Rome was breeding up most courageous and opposite to tyranny. Cesar and Antony defeated Brutus and Cassius: liberty expired with them. The victors, after ridding themselves of the puny Lepidus, made various agreements, and various divisions of power, wherein Cesar, as being the more cunning, finding always means to have the better share, gained Rome to his interest, and got the upper hand. Antony attempts in vain to retrieve himself, and the battle of Actium subjects the whole empire to the power of Augustus Cesar.

Rome, tired and exhausted by so many civil wars, in order to have some rest, is forced to renounce her liberty.

The house of the Cesars fixing in itself, under the great name of Emperor, the command of the armies, exercises an absolute power.

Rome, under the Cesars, more careful to preserve than extend her domain, makes hardly any more conquests, but in order to drive out the barbarians who attempted to get into the empire.

At the death of Caligula, the senate, upon the point of restoring liberty and the consular power, is prevented by the military people, who will have a perpetual chief, and that their chief to be master.

In the revolts caused by the violences of Nero, each army chooses an emperor; and the military

men know too well that it is theirs to bestow the empire.

They become so outrageous as to sell it publicly to the highest bidder, and accustom themselves to shake off the yoke. With obedience discipline is lost. The good princes struggle in vain to preserve it, and their zeal to maintain the ancient order of the Roman exercise of war serves only to expose them to the fury of the soldiers.

In the changes of emperors, each army attempting to make its own, there happen civil wars and dreadful massacres.

Thus the empire is enervated by the remissness of discipline, and at the same time wasted by intestine wars.

Amidst so many disorders, the awe and majesty of the Roman name diminishes. The often vanquished Parthians become formidable on the side of the east, under the ancient name of Persians, which they reassume; the northern nations, who inhabited cold and uncultivated lands, attracted by the beauty and richness of those of the empire, attempt an entrance into it on all sides.

One man is no longer sufficient to bear the burden of an empire so vast, and so powerfully attacked.

The prodigious multitude of wars, and the humour of the soldiers, who would be headed by none but Emperors and Cesars, obliges them to be multiplied.

The empire itself being looked upon as an hereditary estate, emperors multiply naturally by the multitude of the children of the princes.

Marcus Aurelius associates his brother in the empire. Severus makes his two sons emperors. The exigency of affairs obliges Diocletian to divide the east and west between himself and Maximian: each of them, overburdened, eases himself by choosing two Cesars.

Through this multitude of Emperors and Cesars, the state is burdened with an excessive charge, the

body of the empire is disunited, and civil wars multiply.

Constantine, son of the emperor Constantius Clorus, divides the empire as an heritage amongst his children: posterity follows these examples, so that one single emperor is scarce any more to be seen.

The softness of Honorius and Valentinian III. emperors of the west, makes every thing go to ruin.

Italy, and Rome itself, are sacked at different times, and become a prey to barbarians.

The whole west is left open to any invaders. Afric is seized upon by the Vandals, Spain by the Visigoths, Gaul by the Francs, Great Britain by the Saxons, Rome and Italy itself, by the Herulians, and afterward by the Ostrogoths. The Roman emperors confine themselves to the east, and abandon the rest, even Rome and Italy.

The empire recovers some strength under Justinian, by the bravery of Belisarius and Narses. Rome, often taken and retaken, remains at last to the emperors. The Saracens, grown powerful by the division of their neighbours, and through the remissness of the emperors, take from them the greatest part of the east, and harass them so on that side, that they think of Italy no more. The Lombards seize upon the finest and richest provinces there. Rome, reduced to extremity by their continual encroachments, and undefended by her emperors, is forced to throw herself into the arms of the French. Pepin, king of France, passes the Alps, and reduces the Lombards. Charlemagne, after having abolished their dominion, causes himself to be crowned king of Italy, where his moderation alone preserves some small remains to the successors of the Cesars; and in the eight hundredth year of our Lord, being elected emperor by the Romans, he foundeth the new empire.

It is now easy for you to understand the causes of the rise and fall of Rome.

You see [that] that state, founded upon war, and

thereby naturally disposed to encroach upon its neighbours, brought the whole world under the yoke, by having carried to the highest pitch policy and the art of war.

You see the causes of the divisions of the republic, and at last of its fall, in the jealousies of its citizens, and in the love of liberty; driven to an intolerable excess and delicacy.

No more have you any difficulty to distinguish all the periods of Rome, whether you choose to consider her in herself, or with reference to other nations; and you see the revolutions that must necessarily attend the situation of affairs in every period.

In herself, you see her at the beginning in a monarchial state, established according to her primitive laws; afterward in her liberty; and at last subjected once more to a monarchial government, but by force and violence.

It is easy for you to conceive in what manner the popular state was formed, after the beginnings it had in the time of royalty: and you see no less evidently, how in liberty were gradually established the foundations of the new monarchy.

For in like manner as you have seen the scheme of the republic laid in the monarchy, by Servius Tullius, who gave as it were a first taste of liberty to the Roman people, so you have observed that the tyranny of Sylla, though temporary, though short-lived, showed that Rome, notwithstanding her haughtiness, was as capable of bearing the yoke, as the nations she held in subjection.

To know what that furious jealousy between the orders successively operated, you have only to distinguish the times which I have expressly marked out to you; the one wherein the people were kept within certain bounds by the dangers that encompassed them on all sides; and the other, when having nothing more to fear from abroad, they gave themselves up without restraint to their passion.

The essential character of each of these two periods is, that in the one, the love of their country, and of the laws, restrained the spirits: and that in the other, every thing was decided by interest and force.

Hence it also followed, that in the first of these two times, persons in command, who aspired at honours by lawful means, kept the soldiers in awe, and attached to the republic; whereas, in the other period, where violence carried every thing, they studied only how to indulge them, in order to make them espouse their designs in defiance of the authority of the senate.

By this last state war came necessarily to be in Rome; and because in war, where laws have no longer any power, force alone decides, the strongest must needs prove master; and consequently the empire revert into the power of one.

Polyb. vi. 1. & seq. 41. & seq. And things were so disposed to it of themselves, that Polybius, who lived in the most flourishing time of the commonwealth, foresaw by the mere disposition of affairs, that the government of Rome would at long-run return to monarchy.

The reason of this revolution is, that the *division* between the orders could never cease among the Romans but by the authority of an absolute master, and that, besides, liberty was too dear to be voluntarily parted with. It was therefore gradually to be weakened by specious pretences, and by that means to be made capable of being ruined by open force.

olit. 4. Imposition, according to Aristotle, should begin with flattering the people, and must naturally be followed by violence.

But hence they must fall into another inconvenience by the power of the military men, an evil inevitable to that state.

In fact, that monarchy which the Cesars formed, having erected itself by arms, must needs be wholly military; and for this reason it establised itself under the name of emperor, the proper and natural title of the command of armies.

Thereby you may have observed, that as the commonwealth had its inevitable weakness, that is, the jealousy between the people and senate; so the monarchy of the Cesars had also its foible, which was the licentiousness of the soldiers who had made them.

For it was not possible that the military men who had overturned the government, and set up the emperors, should be long without perceiving that it was they in effect who disposed of the empire.

You may now add to the times you have been observing, those which exhibit to you the state and alteration of the soldiery; that wherein it is subject and attached to the senate and Roman people; that wherein it devotes itself to its generals; that wherein it raises them to absolute power under the military title of emperorsa;nd that wherein being master in some sort of its emperors; it makes and unmakes them at pleasure. Hence the remissness of discipline; hence the seditions and wars you have seen; hence, in fine, the ruin of the soldiery together with that of the empire.

Such are the remarkable times which exhibit to us the revolutions of the state of Rome considered in herself. Those which make her known to us with reference to other nations, are no less easy to be discerned.

There is a time when she fights against her equals, and is in danger. It lasts somewhat above five hundred years, and ends at the destruction of the Gauls in Italy, and of the empire of the Carthaginians.

That wherein she fights with advantage and without danger, how great soever be the wars which she undertakes. It lasts two hundred years, and reaches to the establishment of the empire of the Cesars.

That wherein she preserves her empire and majesty. It lasts four hundred years, and ends at the reign of Theodosius the Great.

That finally, wherein her empire, wounded on all sides, falls piece meal. This state, which lasts also

four hundred years, commences at the sons of Theodosius, and terminates at last in Charlemagne.

I am not ignorant, Sir, that there might be added to the causes of the ruin of Rome a great many particular incidents. The rigour of creditors to their debtors excited great and frequent revolts. The prodigious number of gladiators and slaves with which Rome and Italy were incumbered, occasioned terrible violences, and even bloody wars. Rome, drained by so many domestic and foreign wars, made herself so many new citizens, either through solicitation or necessity, that she could hardly know herself again, among so many strangers whom she had naturalized. The senate, filled with Barbarians: the Roman blood became mixed; the love of the country, whereby Rome had raised herself above all the nations of the world, was not natural to those citizens come from abroad, and the rest were tainted by the mixture. Partialities multiplied with that prodigious multiplicity of new citizens; and turbulent spirits found new means to disturb and to enterprise.

Meanwhile the number of poor increased *without* end, through the luxury, debauchery, and idleness, that were introducing. Those who found themselves ruined, had no resource but in seditions, and in any event cared little though all should go to wreck after them. You know that this was what occasioned Catiline's conspiracy. The ambitious great, and wretches that have nothing to lose, are always fond of change. These two kinds of citizens prevailed in Rome: and the middle state, which alone keeps the balance in popular governments, being the weakest, the republic must necessarily fall.

To this we may also join, the particular humour and genius of those who caused the commotions, I mean of the Gracchi, of Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Julius Cesar, Antony, and Augustus. I have taken some notice of them; but I have chiefly applied myself to discover to you the general causes and true root of

the evil, namely, that jealousy between the two orders, whereof it was of moment to you to consider all the consequences.

But remember, Sir, that that long concatenation of particular causes, which make and unmake empires, depends upon the secret orders of divine providence. God from the highest heavens holds the reins of all the kingdoms of the earth; he hath all hearts in his hand: sometimes he restrains the passions, sometimes he gives a loose to them; and thereby moveth all mankind. Means he to make conquerors? He causes terror to march before them, and inspires them and their soldiers with an invincible resolution. Means he to make lawgivers? He sends them his spirit of wisdom and foresight; he enables them to prevent the evils that threaten states, and to lay the foundations of public tranquillity. He knows human wisdom to be always short in some respect; he enlightens it, he enlarges its views; and then he leaves it to its own ignorance, he blinds it, he precipitates it; he confounds it by itself, it involves itself, it entangles itself in its own subtleties, and its precautions are a snare to it. God exercises by this means his dreadful judgments, according to the rules of his ever unerring justice. He it is, who prepares effects in the remotest causes, and he it is who strikes those great strokes, the counter-stroke whereof is of such extensive consequence. When he means to let loose the latter, and to overturn empires, their counsels are weak and irregular. Egypt, formerly so wise, goes on inebriated, rash, and reeling, because the Lord hath spread the spirit of giddiness in her counsels. She knows no more what she does; she is lost. But let not men deceive themselves: God sets right, when he pleases, the bewildered judgment, and he who insulted over the blindness of others, falls oftentimes into thicker darkness himself, without there needing any thing else to turn his head than his long course of prosperity.

Thus it is that God reigns over all nations. Let us talk no more of chance, or of fortune, or talk of them only as of a name with which we cover our our ignorance. What is chance in regard to our uncertain counsels, is a concerted design in a higher counsel, that is, in that eternal counsel which contains all causes and effects in one and the same order. In this manner every thing concurs to the same end; and it is for want of understanding the whole, that we find chance or irregularity in particular emergencies.

Thereby is verified the saying of the Apostle, that *God is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords.* Blessed, whose peace is unalterable, who sees every thing change without changing himself, and who causes all revolutions by an immutable counsel; who gives and takes away power, who transfers it from one man to another, from one house to another, from one people to another, to show, that they all have it only borrowed, and that it is he alone in whom it naturally resides. 1 Tim. vi. 16.

Therefore it is that all who govern, find themselves subject to a greater power. They do more or less than they intend, and their counsels have never failed to have unforeseen effects. Neither are they masters of the dispositions which past ages have given affairs, nor can they foresee what course futurity will take; far less are they able to force it. He alone holdeth all in his own hand, who knows the name of that which is, and of that which is not yet, who over-rules all times and prevents all counsels.

Little did Alexander think that he was labouring for his captains, or to ruin his house by his conquests. When Brutus inspired the Roman people with a boundless love of liberty, he never dreamt that he was sowing in their minds the seeds of that immoderate licence, whereby the tyranny he meant to destroy was to be one day restored more grievous than under the Tarquins. When the Cesars were flattering the soldiers, they had no intention of giving masters to

their successors, and to the empire. In a word, there is no human power that does not minister, whether it will or no, to other designs than its own. God only knows how to bring every thing about to his will: and therefore every thing is surprising, to consider only particular causes; and yet every thing goes on with a regular progression. This work hath, I hope, made you understand it; and to say no more of other empires, you see by how many unforeseen counsels, but nevertheless coherent in themselves, the fortune of Rome hath been traced from Romulus down to Charlemagne.

You will perhaps think, Sir, that I should have told you something more about your Frenchmen, and about Charlemagne, who founded the new Empire. But besides that his history makes part of that of France, which you yourself are writing, and in which you are already so far advanced, I reserve it for a second part I intend to make you of this work; wherein I shall have necessary occasion to speak to you of France, and of that great conqueror, who, equal in valour to any that antiquity boasts, surpasses them in piety, wisdom, and justice.

The same second part will discover to you the causes of the prodigious success of Mahomet and his successors. That empire which commenced two hundred years before Charlemagne, might find its place in this part: but I thought it would be better to set before you in one and the same progression, its rise and its decline.

Thus I have no more to say upon the first part of Universal History. You will discover all its secrets, and it will now be entirely in your own power to observe in it the whole progression of Religion and that of great Empires down to Charlemagne.

While you shall see them fall almost all of themselves, and shall see Religion support itself by its own power, you will easily understand what is solid greatness, and wherein a wise man ought to place his hope.

THE END.